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*California  
and its missions*

Bryan James Clinch



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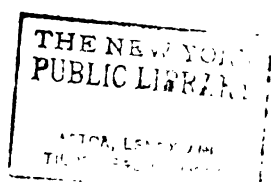














FRAY JUNIPERO SERRA

# CALIFORNIA AND ITS MISSIONS

*THEIR HISTORY  
TO THE TREATY OF GUADALUPE HIDALGO*

BY  
BRYAN J. CLINCH

IN TWO VOLUMES  
WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

VOL. II.

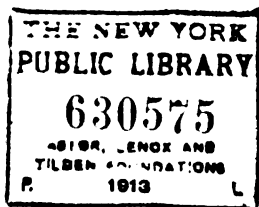


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# CALIFORNIA AND ITS MISSIONS

## CHAPTER I

### THE FIRST SETTLEMENT AT SAN DIEGO

Upper California was the last colonial expansion of Spain in America. Unlike most Spanish settlements, it was formed directly by the government, and on a well-defined plan, which was substantially continued until the close of Spanish rule on the American Continent. It was occupied both as a missionary enterprise, approved by the Spanish administration, and as a military colony, directed and supported by it. The first was conducted on the methods established in most Spanish colonies since the middle of the sixteenth century, and by similar agencies. The military colony was planned on new administrative ideas, lately brought into Spain by the third Bourbon King, Charles the Third.

To occupy the Pacific Coast north of Mexico had been desired by all the rulers of Spain from the close of the sixteenth century, but the practical obstacles from the difficulties of navigation were so great that it was never practically attempted before the time of Charles. His ministry took it up seriously, after the war forced on Spain by England, in 1760, at the beginning of the new reign. A minister of the Crown, Don Jose Galvez, was sent to Mexico in 1765 with extensive powers as Visitor General. He was specially charged to form military posts in Upper California, and, if possible, to settle the whole territory.

Galvez began his task with energy and intelligence. He established a naval station and dock yard at San Blas, the first on the Pacific shores of Mexico. He also organ-



ized the detached companies of the frontiers into a regular militia, under command of General Hugh O'Connor, a veteran soldier of the regular army, who was stationed at Chihuahua. The new force received the name of "Soldados de Cuera," or leather jackets, from the uniform introduced as protection against arrows. These measures had been completed when Galvez first visited Lower California, after the banishment of the Jesuits.

He began preparations for the actual expedition immediately after his arrival and pushed them with much ability. The difficulties of the enterprise were well known to him and he spared no pains to overcome them. He formed a naval station at La Paz to lessen the distance to be traversed by sea, which had been hitherto the most serious objection to attempting an expedition like Viscaino's. He decided also that a land force should start at the same time with the ships, and in the direction of both he called in the aid of men familiar with the country, as well as the training of experienced military and naval officers of the regular forces. The old guards of the Jesuit missions were enrolled in the force of "leather-jackets," and the former Governor, with a party of them, sent as pioneers of the land expedition under the orders of Captain Portola, who followed with a company of regular Spanish soldiers. Captain Vila was named naval commander, having been brought for that purpose from the Atlantic service. His second in command, Juan Perez, was an experienced navigator who had served some years on the Philippine packets as pilot and was familiar with the California coast. Constructors were brought from Europe and Mexico to build the vessels needed for the voyage at San Blas.

Three ships of about two hundred tons each had been built at San Blas by the middle of 1768. Galvez had them sent on trial trips through the Gulf, and then examined the first two personally at La Paz. He had them overhauled, recaulked and loaded under his own supervision,

which was so close that he often took a hand in the work among the Indian stevedores. Galvez, though a Crown minister, was the son of a Spanish farmer and had been used in his boyhood to hard work. His brother, when at a later date Viceroy of Mexico, was fond of referring to his humble origin, and once surprised the dignitaries of his court by explaining how he had learned to trim fences in his early years. There was less of aristocratic pretence among the Spanish high officials than those of England or France at the time. It would be hard to imagine a British Lord of the Admiralty acting a part at Greenwich like that of the Spanish Visitor General of Mexico at La Paz.

He organized the department at San Blas with equal diligence. The salaries and supplies, and the sources from which the necessary funds were to be drawn, were personally arranged by Galvez with all the exactness of a modern municipal budget. His methods were new in Mexico, but the despotic energy of the Visitor made them be observed punctually. He made no scruple about using the capital of the Pious Fund for the expenses of the first expedition. The surplus in the hands of the last Jesuit procurator and the stores in the magazine at Loretto amounted to nearly two hundred thousand dollars, and were all employed in building the ships and furnishing supplies for the royal expedition. Galvez was strict in the matter of economy. He reduced the pay hitherto allowed by the treasury to soldiers on California service, and he made up the church furniture and altar linen for the new missions by borrowing from those already founded on the peninsula. Father Palou incidentally mentions that many of the latter were almost worn out when sent. In vindication of his colleagues against the insinuations of Sergeant Barri on this head, the worthy Franciscan appealed to the wife of a Spanish sergeant, who had to "mend, wash and iron the albs and altar linen" before they could be shipped to Monterey.

The San Carlos, under command of Don Vicente Vila, sailed first in January, 1769. The San Antonio, under charge of Perez, followed the next month. Galvez showed a homely kindness to the parting sailors at La Paz, according to Palou.

"All being ready, His Excellency appointed the ninth of January for sailing, on which day all prepared themselves with confession and communion. When mass was over, he gathered them all together and made them a thoughtful and kindly speech. He laid their duties on them in the name of God and of the King and his Viceroy, and told them they were going to plant the Standard of the Holy Cross among the heathens of San Diego and Monterey. He urged peace and union among themselves and due respect to their superior officers, and especially towards the missionary, Fray Hernando Parron, who was going for the equal benefit of all on board. Then they parted, Fray Parron getting a special blessing from the Rev. Father President, who was there present, and so all went on board. The Honorable Visitor went in La Concepcion (his own vessel) with the first ship as far as Cape San Lucas, since he could not go to Monterey, as indeed he wished much to go."

The Visitor's attitude towards the Franciscans was marked by cordiality and easy familiarity. He took counsel with Father Serra on the location of the mission settlements, and showed his interest in them by packing the vestments intended for San Buenaventura with his own hands. He challenged the Franciscan President to do the same for another mission, and claimed to have proved himself a better sacristan than the priest, as he had finished his packing first. Three missions were to be founded by the expedition, and that of Monterey was to be dedicated under the name of San Carlos Borromeo, the patron saint of the reigning monarch. San Diego was to retain its old title, and the intermediate establishment, to be founded at some point on the Santa Barbara channel,

was to be named after Buenaventura, the distinguished Franciscan author and saint. Father Serra bethought of the claims of the Patriarch of the Order and asked that his name should be given to some mission. Galvez laughingly replied that if St. Francis wanted one he had only to guide the explorers to a new port. His answer was recalled with simple delight by the Franciscans on the discovery of the bay now known by the name of the Saint of Assisi.

Whatever the sentiments of the other ministers of Charles, there seems no reason to doubt the sincerity of Galvez in his expressions of good will towards the Franciscans and their missions. He had already restored control of the Lower California establishments to the priests after Portola's attempt at secularizing them. The new foundations beyond San Diego he desired to be on the same footing, and the military officers were not to interfere in their management or harass the natives in any way. There was small expectation of colonists from Europe or Mexico to claim a share of the new lands, and Galvez only desired that their actual natives should be made Christians, without expecting any profit from their conversion beyond the occupation of the land by loyal subjects of Spain. The project excited considerable enthusiasm among all concerned. Portola, the Governor, and Serra, the Franciscan President both volunteered to take part in the expedition to the north of their own free will.

Galvez supervised the fitting out of the San Antonio and her sailing with the same care as the first vessel. She carried two priests and a quantity of fruit seeds, vegetables and grain for plantation purposes. Twenty-five Catalan soldiers under Lieutenant Fages went in the San Carlos. Both vessels were carefully provisioned, and their commanders received strict orders for their courses from the Visitor. The exactness with which the latter

were given proved, in fact, one of the most serious dangers encountered on the voyage.

Rivera with twenty-five soldiers of the frontier militia had started northwards from Loretto before the sailing of the ships. He drew supplies and mules to transport them from the different missions, and also cattle to be driven across the desert to San Diego. About forty Christian natives accompanied as settlers and to care for the cattle on the way. Father Crespi joined Rivera at Velicata, eighteen leagues north of Santa Maria Mission. The party started on Good Friday, the 24th of March. The whole number had confessed and received communion the day before, Father Lasuen having come from Santa Maria for that end.

For a week the route taken by Father Link on his last visit to the Colorado was followed. The company then turned west and had to trust for directions towards San Diego to the observations of the naval officer, Canizares. Crespi kept daily note of events. One of the Californian Indians died on the second day, and four others during the rest of the journey. On the fifth day another died, and Rivera ordered a third to be put on a stretcher and carried. He also sent five, who seemed ailing, to their homes with two or three others to take care of them. The whole body came back the next day, having been scared by a hostile party of gentiles, and preferring to take chances with the main body. This did not prevent nine others quitting during the night and five more a few days afterwards. No attempt was made to follow the runaways. "May God guide them and pay the services they have rendered, though their loss will be felt," is Crespi's entry.

The season was exceptionally rainy, and no difficulty was found in getting water through the desert. It rained all night on the fourth day, and Rivera allowed "to put the poor tent I have within his own good one, which saved me from further soaking." It rained again all day on the 25th of April and the following night, and even on the

13th of May, when close to San Diego, "Evening closed with rain, and soaked us well and enough." The next day, Whit-Sunday, "the morning opened cloudy, and at break of day a great cloudburst lasted an hour and a half. The Captain thought it best to have no mass, as we were all soaked, so we all remained without it, which I regretted on so great a day." Rain at San Diego in the middle of May is certainly unusual. The rains must have helped materially in making the passage of the desert easy for the expedition.

Very few natives came near the first expedition until it was near San Diego. On the ninth of May a large body came to the camp and offered baskets of fish in exchange for beads. On the thirteenth of May the travelers saw from a hill the masts of the ships at anchor in the port, and a crowd of natives came in as soon as camp was made. They were "over lively and wide awake, very ready to trade and greedy after anything they took a liking to. They were great thieves and talked in screams like angry people. They brought mussels, but if they did not get what they wanted, they would not give even a single one." The first party reached San Diego on the evening of Whit-Sunday, the fourteenth of May, after fifty days' march from Velicata. The travelers fired a salute, which was answered by the guns of the two ships. The first had been a month in the port, the San Carlos, only fifteen days. Seven crosses on the beach were a suggestion of the mortality among the two crews in the meantime.

The supplies collected by Rivera from the peninsular missions give an idea of the development attained at each under the Jesuit management. San Francisco Xavier gave ninety arrobas of jerked beef, twenty of flour, four of cornmeal, twenty of figs, and a muleload of sugar. La Purissima gave nearly as much flour, sugar and meal, but no beef. It added eight packs of rawhide, four muleloads of biscuit and twenty bushels seed wheat. Guadalupe had

no grain, but furnished two hundred and twenty arrobas of beef and ten of lard. San Ignacio and Santa Gertrudis had neither grain nor cattle to spare, but the first gave four barrels of wine and two of brandy, and the second four hogsheads of each. San Francisco Borgia gave two hundred cattle and all the northern missions contributed pack animals, the mules being three times the number of the horses. The mule was to the Spanish frontiersmen as indispensable as the camel to the Arabian and African desert travelers.

The governor himself was the last to start. He left Loretto on the ninth of March, and reached Santa Maria, the most northern mission at the beginning of May with ten soldiers of the leather jackets. About forty-four Californian Indians were collected to go to San Diego. The President of the Franciscans stayed at Loretto till Easter, the twenty-eighth of March, and then followed, making an inspection of the northern missions on his road. He had just been one year in California at the time. There was no ceremony about his final leavetaking. He started after mass, and walked unattended the same day to Father Ugarte's old mission, where Palou, his old friend and appointed successor, was stationed. Three days were spent there in arranging the various mission affairs to be managed by Palou, and also in making preparations for Serra's long journey. None had been made for him by the officials at Loretto, as he noted in his diary quaintly: "From my Mission of Loretto I only took one loaf of bread and a piece of cheese, as all the year I passed there I was only a guest of the Royal Commissary, whose liberality at my parting only extended to the aforesaid bread and cheese; but Father Palou made up the lack with such provision of food, clothing and comforts for the journey as not even myself could have thought of, though I confess to being much attached to my own comfort, sinner that I am."

From San Xavier Serra traveled to the next Mission

San Jose de Comondu on the first of April. He started so early that he made the journey of twelve leagues before midday, and spent four days at Comondu, hearing confessions and at other duties among the natives in the absence of the regular administrator, who was absent at Purissima, as he had charge of it in addition to his own since the departure of Father Crespi with Rivera. Father Martinez, the President's "old comrade since we came together from Cadiz to the college," returned as soon as he heard of his arrival, and went with him to Purissima, where two more days were spent. Crespi had provided four loads of biscuit and other provisions, which had to be packed in this time. There was much trouble in finding mules to carry these supplies. Rivera on his passage had requisitioned nearly all the available pack animals, with little care for how the missions were to support themselves without them. The stores taken at the same time left many of the mission Indians without means of support, and obliged the priests in charge to let their converts go away to seek mescals and pitahayas in the hills to avoid starvation. At the frontier mission of Santa Maria Fray Juan Leon was so "discouraged on account of the want of food for so many dwellers there and the gentiles who came to look for baptism that he absented himself and begged to be changed to some other mission." The energy of Galvez entailed much suffering on the mission Indians of the peninsula. The lonely Franciscans in charge felt the full burden of the official program.

After bidding farewell to Fray Martinez, Serra started on foot at daybreak for Guadalupe. He walked all day without reaching it, and slept in the open at night among a party of Indians from that mission. "They told me with sorrow that the Father had been forced for lack of provisions to send them to look for food in the mountains, and they found it hard, as they were not used to such tasks, especially to see the children suffer and hear them cry. I felt sorry enough for them, and as the pack train



could not come up that night they made a jar of good atole, from a wallet of cornmeal I had along, for the women and children, and then another for the men, wherewith they were all well pleased. I had them pray together, and they ended by chanting a very affecting hymn in praise of God. I took my sleep with much consolation in hearing them, for those of that mission have with justice the name of singing especially well."

It took Serra the whole of the next two days to reach Guadalupe on foot, as it was nearly thirty leagues from the last mission. The pack mules took three days longer to make the journey. Father Gaston came from Mulege to bid good-by. "So between the three of us we consoled one another for our parting, which might likely be till the morrow of death (or even after), with the reflection that it was for the greater honor and glory of God. This Father Gaston was one of those that came with me from Spain, and after worked with me in the Sierra Gorda. Father Sancho of Guadalupe gave me a Spanish-speaking boy, who used to serve mass for him and knows how to read and the duties of a sacristan. He dressed him with new clothes, leather jacket and boots, and gave him a saddle mule. So not only he, but his parents, too, took it for good luck, and all were pleased."

San Ignacio was the next mission. Father Serra walked all day, but had to sleep at night on the ground. He was up "good and early, and reached San Ignacio a little after three in the morning." He spent the next two days writing letters and at other works, and then traveled on to Santa Gertrudis. The first day, "as I failed to waken early and the sun was very hot, I could not make a regular day's journey. I passed the noon in a cave, and in the evening reached the place called Santa Marta, where I slept on the ground." The same happened the following day, but on the third, by "very early rising," he reached Santa Gertrudis. The Indians came to meet him with dancing and signs of joy. The Father Minister

awaited at the church door with a cross, candles and asperges, and the two entered the church to thank God for all his favors. What followed is best told in Serra's own words. When the Father had "taken off the vestments and we embraced one another, the eyes of both filled (as mine do even now when I think of it), and we could not say a word till we had paid this not sinful tribute to nature for a good while. The Father, for many days, had been in deep melancholy for being all alone among the Indians, without soldier attendant, or even an interpreter to talk to the natives. He had written to me of his dejection, asking relief, which I could not give him. All this, together with my affection for this young friar as my companion in long journeys on the coast of Oaxaca, the River Miges, the City of Antequera and the road from thence to Mexico, caused that tenderness of feeling at meeting, now a year since our arrival and parting at Loretto."

Father Serra stayed five days at Santa Gertrudis, then traveled in his usual fashion to San Francisco Borgia, which was in charge of Father Lasuen. It took four days' march thence to reach Santa Maria, where he found Portola and his party on the fifth of May. The deep loneliness of the scattered missionaries of California is strikingly shown by the meeting between Serra and Father Bastierra at Santa Gertrudis. It was the heaviest trial they had to contend with. Many years afterwards the energetic Lasuen declared when Superior of the Californian missions that nothing would induce him to send solitary priests on mission work. The trial seemed too much for ordinary human endurance.

Santa Maria was in an especially barren district, though its population was numerous. Galvez had tried to get them to remove to other localities, but Serra, after close examination, decided that it "was not so bad as they had described it," and wrote so to both Galvez and Father Palou. Father Campa, who had been named to begin a new mission at Velicata, was at Santa Maria.

The two Franciscans and Portola started on horseback for it on the eleventh and reached it after two days. The country "was even less furnished for the poor support of its people than the rest of California," and not even a pitahaya bush was seen by the travelers. At Velicata, however, there was a creek and some pasture, so a mission was founded. It was the only foundation of the Franciscans in the peninsula. Mass was said in a brush hut, erected by the soldiers, as not a native appeared.

"Then we erected the standard of the Holy Cross, and I named as first administrator of that mission Fray Miguel de la Campa, who was right glad of the work in view of the many gentiles that dwelt around it, and that the location offers all conveniences of land and water to feed such as may come to the mission." In the meantime Serra left him one of the muleloads of biscuit given to himself and a tercio (about 160 pounds) of flour and some soap. The Governor added forty bushels of maize and some chocolate, raisins and figs, and so he was left to get on as he could and treat the gentiles until he should get further help. The mission was founded at Velicata on Whit-Sunday, the same day that Rivera reached San Diego.

The party started onwards on the following Tuesday, but meantime Serra had his first opportunity to make acquaintance with Californian "gentiles" in their native state.

"Soon after the masses, while I was in the hut, they came to tell me that gentiles were coming. I kissed the earth, giving thanks to His Majesty, that, after so many years' prayers, He had granted me to be among them in their own land. I went then out, and found twelve around me, all men. I saw, what I had hardly believed when I used to read it, that they were all naked, as Adam in Paradise before his sin. I laid my hands on the head of each, in token of good will, and filled their hands with dried figs, which they at once began to eat. Father

Campa gave them raisins, and his honor, the Governor, tobacco, and all the soldiers treated them likewise. Then, through the interpreter, I gave them to understand that right here this Father would stay, and I pointed him out and told them his name was Father Michael. I told them that they and their acquaintances should come to see him, and that they should tell them not to be afraid or suspicious, for that the Father would be their true friend, and the gentlemen soldiers, who were staying there, would do them good and no harm. I told them they must not steal the cattle, but if they wanted anything to come and tell the Father, and he would always give them whatever he could. To this discourse they attended well, and gave signs of agreement to it all. To him that passed as captain the Governor said that if he had been so before by the say of his own people only, from henceforward he made him captain in the name of our Lord the King."

The mission President had been for some time suffering from an ulcerated leg, which had been aggravated by the journey from Loretto. Portola advised him to remain at Velicata, but he would not hear of it, and started the Tuesday following with the party. The next day he nearly broke down.

"On the seventeenth I said mass at San Juan, though it pained me much to stand, as my left foot was inflamed. I have felt it for a year or more, but now it is swollen up to the knee. I had to pass the last few days at Velicata lying down, and fear that soon they will have to carry me on a stretcher (tepestle). Next day I could not say mass for this cause, but I had great consolation in a letter from Velicata, in which the Father there told that the gentile captain I talked with had gone there with men, women, boys and girls, forty-four in all, and asked for holy baptism, and that they had all begun instruction for it that day. I was deeply glad, and wrote a thousand congratulations to Father Campa. I asked that so honest a captain should be the first baptized, and that he should

be called Francisco, after our own Father St. Francis. And it seems to me but right that this captain, when he is baptized, should be held in high esteem and treated with special attention always, since, when Spaniards first entered his land, he visited, feasted and served them. May God make him a saint."

The enthusiasm of Serra in the midst of his pains is quite Franciscan. The feast provided by the "captain" had already been noted in the diary as "a bag of roasted mescals and four good sized fish, which, as the poor fellows had not thought to clean, much less salt, the cook said were good for nothing." The incident is an illustration of the early mission methods of the Spanish friars.

Serra's sore leg underwent a strange change for the better after this news. His diary the following day only records that the writer was "much improved and able to say mass." Palou, in his biography, tells how Serra got one of the muleteers to poultice the swollen limb with the preparation he was accustomed to use for the chafed backs of his mules, and the remedy brought about the "improvement" mentioned in Serra's diary. The inflammation gradually disappeared, but was not enough to keep Serra from continuing his journey to San Diego.

The party followed Rivera's trail with few incidents by the way. The howling of California lions kept the camp awake three or four nights. Indians appeared in greater numbers than were seen by Rivera, but there were no hostilities anywhere. Some rancherias made threatening demonstrations, but no more. Cottonwoods and other trees unknown in the peninsula began to appear as they moved northward. On the first of June Serra chronicled an abundance of grape vines loaded with fruit, and the next day "many flowers and beautiful, and today we have met the queen of them all, the rose of Castile. As I write, I have a branch before me with three full blown roses and others in bud." He also noted several localities

well fitted for future missions. The natives in several places came in friendly fashion and were treated with figs, raisins and beads. Once or twice they gave trouble by crowding around the mules on steep trails, and Portola had to order them off, and fire muskets in the air to enforce his wishes.

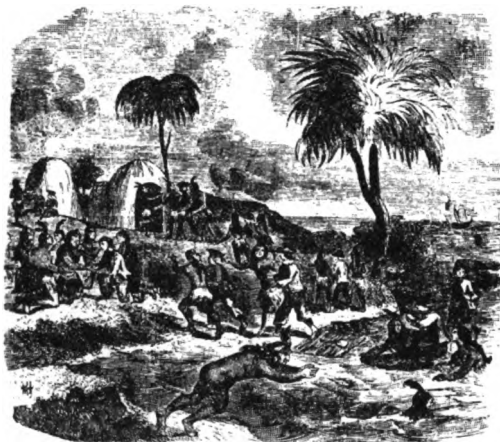
A comic incident of military justice on the part of Portola was chronicled a month after leaving Velicata. Its victim was the cook, who pronounced the fish offered by Serra's Indian friend valueless.

"On the nineteenth day of June the servant of his Honor, who filled the position of cook, a Genoese by birth, showed the might of his sword by running it through a she ass, for getting in front of him and stopping his own beast. He laid her dead at his feet, and the Senor Governor, being assured of the burricide by witness of the deed and the confession of the culprit, straight commanded that his arms should be taken from him and he removed from his office. Moreover, he sentenced him to make the rest of the journey on foot, and he amerced him for the burra four times her value; that is, fifty dollars."

Near San Diego the Indians came in considerable numbers to sell fish and roots for beads and cloth. They were more lively and also more thievish than those met on the first part of the expedition. One worthy stole the altar bell and another Father Serra's spectacles. "If we seated ourselves, they would come and sit by us, always craving us to give them everything they saw. They asked me for my habit, the Governor for his leather jacket, waistcoat and breeches. They troubled me much for my spectacles. I took them off for one whose actions made me think he only wanted to examine them, and God knows the trouble I had to get them back, for he ran off with them. Only food they don't care for." The party finally reached San Diego on the first of July. There had been no sickness among the Spaniards, but some of the native

Californians died on the road, and the majority deserted. Only twelve remained at the end of the journey.

The condition in which Portola found those before him at San Diego was very bad. The ships' crews had been decimated by scurvy and it spread among the Catalan soldiers also. A strange fatality seemed to mock the provisions taken by Galvez to insure the success of the expedition by sea. The San Carlos had been ordered to keep out well from the coast till she reached the latitude of San Diego. Contrary winds and an error in the reckoning



LANDING AT SAN DIEGO

given her captain made her voyage take a hundred and ten days. Scurvy broke out and caused several deaths. When the vessel reached San Diego there were not enough of sailors fit for duty to launch a boat, and if the San Antonio had not been there all on the San Carlos must have perished.

It was a mere chance that she was still in port at the time. Galvez had given strict orders that whichever packet first reached San Diego should only remain there twenty days, and then sail for Monterey. The San Antonio left Cape San Lucas a month after the San

Carlos, but she made the passage in fifty-five days. She had been nineteen in port before her fever-stricken consort arrived, and would have left it the following day.

The contagion spread after the landing of the sick from the San Carlos. When Portola reached San Diego only five of the crew of the San Carlos were living and seven of the San Antonio's sailors. Thirteen of the Catalan infantry had also died. The sick were brought ashore and sheltered under tents, where they were attended carefully by the surgeon and the Franciscans, but nineteen died within the two weeks after Portola's arrival. Vila attributed the origin of the disease to the alkaline water which he had to use from Cerros Island. It may have been that germs of the epidemic, which this same year ravaged Lower California, may have been carried from San Lucas and developed on the voyage. Whatever the nature of the epidemic, it caused the loss of over a third of the whole force engaged in the pioneer settlement of California.

The condition of the sailors made it impossible to carry out the orders of Galvez for reaching Monterey, as far as the ships were concerned. After consultation with Vila, the Governor decided to try and reach the port by land with his own men. The San Antonio was sent back to San Blas for further help, leaving only five sailors with Vila to guard the San Carlos. The San Antonio's voyage to San Blas was made in twenty days, but it was almost a race against death. Nine of the crew died during the run, and the survivors were too weak even to drop anchor when she reached the home port. Captain Perez there reported to the Viceroy without delay, and was ordered to load as soon as possible and sail to Monterey, while another vessel was sent to San Diego.

Portola detailed eight of the "leather-jackets" as guards for the sick, with eight Californian Christians and Vila's five men. Father Serra and two other friars also remained. Father Crespi and Gomez were sent along to Monterey.



## CHAPTER II

### THE DISCOVERY OF SAN FRANCISCO BAY

Portola started on his search for Monterey Bay on the fourteenth of July, with nearly all the soldiers fit for duty. The sick were left a guard of eight "leather-jackets," and as many Indians under command of a corporal. The naval officers, including the pilot, Canizares, and the doctor also remained with Father Serra and two other friars. Portola's party numbered sixty-two, including fifteen Indians and three Mexican muleteers. All the military officers, Captain Rivera, Lieutenant Fages and the engineer, Costanso, went on the expedition, though the latter two were suffering from malaria. Fathers Crespi and Gomez represented the Franciscans, and the first kept the journal of the expedition. Portola, Fages and Costanso also kept notes of the journey, and the chief of scouts, Sergeant Ortega. There is abundant detail of the first Spanish exploration of Upper California.

The party advanced at a slow rate, as it had to carry all its supplies on pack-mules. Three or four leagues a day was the usual distance traveled, and four or five hours spent on each march. Sergeant Ortega, with a squad of pioneers from the frontiersmen, went usually ahead and found the roads for the main body and pack animals to follow. Fages and Costanso had already been up the coast as far as the Santa Barbara islands, and were able to point out the chief landmarks along the first part of the route. For other guidance they had to depend on the Manual of Navigation published by Cabrera Bueno at Manila in 1734 for the use of the Philippine galleons on the American coasts.

There was no serious difficulty in the first three hundred miles from San Diego north. The route lay along the

seacoast, and had few natural obstacles, and the natives were nowhere hostile. Father Crespi noted with benevolent and keen interest the numbers and customs of the Indians whom he hoped soon to enroll as converts to the Faith. On the second day from San Diego his diary describes the meeting with "a large rancheria of well-built huts, roofed with brush, from which eighteen men, besides women and children came to visit us, all very affable and no way rough." Two pots of clay, well made, caught his eye at a spring, and at the next village he noted that many of the women had similar pots. The men smoked clay pipes, and were presented with Mexican tobacco as a treat. The women were "decently dressed with skirts of reeds, sewn together, and cloaks of rabbit skins." The men, Crespi had to record, were "naked as Adam in Paradise before the fall," but he added they showed no sense of immodesty, but acted as if "the garb of nature were a rich dress. Moreover, "they were very kindly and made us gifts of their poor seeds."

A few days later an incident occurred which excited the keenest joy to the two friars. They found two infants in a dying condition at a rancheria, and their parents consented that they should be baptized. "We doubt not," the diary added, "that both will die and go to enjoy the vision of God, and for this we priests hold our long journey with its fatigues, past and coming, as well spent." Crespi named the rancheria where this occurred San Apolinario, but the soldiers called it "the Christians or Valley of Baptisms." Two days later he had another joyful incident to record. Some natives were anxious to imitate the language of the strangers, and the Franciscans taught them to repeat acts of faith, hope and charity. "Though they knew not the meaning of the words, they repeated them with devotion and affection, or at least their voices stirred such in my heart. We gave the place the name of St. Francis Solano, that by his intercession the conversion of these docile gentiles may be gained."

The Mission of San Juan Capistrano was later established at the site in question.

The conduct of the soldiers was quite satisfactory all through the journey. Camp was pitched each day after four or five hours' march, and the men not detailed as guards or scouts allowed to hunt or explore at will. No instance of quarrel, either with the natives or among themselves is recorded. The priests said mass on Sundays and holidays, at which all assisted, and the rest of the day was generally given to rest. On the first of August, Portola gave a halt on the banks of a clear stream, "chiefly to let every one gain the indulgence of the Portiuncula. Both priests said mass and most of the men communicated. There was an earthquake at ten o'clock and a stronger shock at one o'clock, followed by a third an hour later." The soldiers, however, went to hunt and brought in an antelope. Crespi tried its meat and declared it not bad. The stream got the name of Portiuncula.

The earthquakes continued to recur during two weeks, and made the travelers think there must be a volcano somewhere near in the mountains. The deposits of asphalt and bitumen found by the way strengthened this belief, but Portola did not think fit to waste time in searching its location. The first shocks were experienced at the Santa Ana River five days before the Portiuncula holiday. Four violent ones occurred during the afternoon. A party of natives were at the Spanish camp at the time and showed great alarm. One who seemed a priest or medicine man set to utter loud cries, turning himself to the four points of the compass. Crespi gave the stream the name of "Jesus, Lord of Earthquakes," but that of Santa Ana has remained with it. The earthquakes did not distract Crespi's attention from noting the quality of the soil at the Portiuncula stream. It was "black and friable and well fitted for grain and fruit of every kind."

The keen eye of the Franciscans for the qualities of soil and irrigation facilities are very noticeable in Crespi's

diary. He and Serra were both from the island of Mallorca, and familiar with farming life there. The diary carefully records the soil of the different localities passed under homely but intelligible farm terms. It was "emplastado, prieta or migajon," heavy, dark or friable, and the amount of water supply was carefully estimated, as a Mallorca farmer would count it by inches, yards or "oxwork." The friars showed real enthusiasm over the agricultural advantages of certain localities. Crespi described one as "looking just like a cultivated field," and another as "a wide flat of beautiful black soil, with a good stream of fully three-fourths of a yard width, running through reeds, with which it would be easy to irrigate all the ground." He also showed keen delight at finding plants like those of his native land. The wild vines and roses of Castile are mentioned at nearly every page.

Neither Crespi nor Serra showed any special knowledge of modern sciences beyond that of practical farming. Crespi, indeed, learned the use of surveying instruments from the engineer officer on his journey to San Diego, and took the sun regularly each day during Portola's expedition, but no attempts were made at regular surveys or map making like the work of Ugarte or Consag in the peninsula. The Franciscan limited his work in that direction to selecting the best sites for future missions and in that he showed good judgment as well as care. Those later occupied by San Luis Rey, San Juan Capistrano and San Fernando were recommended by him on his first journey. His earliest selection was near San Diego.

Though Crespi made himself no map of the land, the names suggested by him have many of them remained permanently fixed in modern California. The three missions last alluded to were indeed differently named afterwards. He had proposed San Juan Capistrano as patron for the first, and San Francisco Solano and Santa Caterina for the other two. In other localities, however, like the

Portiuncula and Las Llagas Creek, near Monterey, Crespi's names remained. The latter was so called in honor of the stigmata of St. Francis, as the party reached its banks on the anniversary of their reception by the Patriarch of the Franciscans.

The soldiers also took a hand in giving names to places in the new land. Their designations are in quaint contrast to the religious fervor of the friars. Point Buchon (big crow) preserves the memory of an Indian afflicted with goitre near San Luis Obispo. The lameness of another is recorded in the name El Cojo. A seagull shot by one of the soldiers stamped its name on Gaviota Pass; a stuffed condor on the Pajaro River; a slain grizzly on Oso Flaco. Graciosa was stamped on a lagoon by the ridicule with which his comrades received the eloquence of a soldier who qualified it as an "elegant" sheet of water. Las Pulgas commemorates the visit of some soldiers to a deserted Indian hut, where they were welcomed by a horde of exceptionally active fleas.

Portola's party crossed the Santa Clara stream on the tenth of August, and reached the locality of San Buena-ventura on the fourteenth, a month after its start from San Diego. A marked increase in the density of the population was noted along the shores of the Santa Barbara channel. At the Santa Clara River five hundred natives came in a body and brought a large supply of seeds, nuts and acorns, and also collars of shells and coral as gifts. Portola gave them glass beads in return, and both sides parted in friendship. The natives showed more intelligence than the southern tribes. Some of them even traced maps of the channel, coasts and islands on the sands with considerable accuracy. At San Fernando the friars had counted over two hundred visitors five days before, and from Santa Clara north the rancherias were more numerous and larger. The native huts were better built, and some of them large enough to accommodate several families. They were mostly round, with thatched roofs, hav-

ing smoke holes in the center of each. The channel Indians were all friendly, and Crespi noted with satisfaction that they seemed to have no quarrels among themselves. The sea gave them abundant food in the shape of fish, and they were generous in offering what they had as gifts. The whole of the pack mules might have been loaded with fish free of cost if Portola desired. Two burned rancherias on the line of march, however, indicated that even here all was not peace. The natives made signs that these had been destroyed and their people killed by a recent raid of some mountain tribes. In what are now Ventura and Santa Barbara Counties Crespi found several villages of four or five hundred inhabitants, and in one he reckoned over a thousand.

At the modern San Buenaventura the village was the largest and best arranged yet seen in the country, and had at least four hundred inhabitants. The natives were of "good stature and dispositions, active, laborious and skilful in work." Their skill showed in the construction of their canoes, made of good pine boards, well bound together and of handsome form, with two sharp ends. They handled them as skillfully as they made them, with long oars, and went far out to sea to fish. "All their works," Father Crespi benevolently added, "were handsome and well executed, though they had nothing but flints to work the wood or stone." At this place several parties came in canoes from the islands to visit the strangers. Crespi noted the existence of cemeteries attached to the villages, the sexes being separated. The graves of the men were marked by poles, to which the hair of the dead below was attached; the graves of the women by grass baskets. He also remarked cleared spaces for games and dances near each village. Though the men wore no more clothing than other Californians, a notable improvement was marked in the dress of the women, in which skirts and cloaks of deerskin took the place of the reed garments of the southern squaws.

Father Crespi's readiness to find good in the traits of Indian life is shown amusingly in his description of their music. At San Buenaventura he admits "they kept the Spaniards awake through the night with their flutes or pipes which were very dismal to hear," but near Santa Barbara, where the different rancherias came in succession to give the strangers an entertainment with their reed whistles, "they kept the pitch of their chants and the motions of their dances so well in time to the sound and motion of the reeds that it produced a certain harmony." The soldiers apparently did not share Crespi's appreciation of the harmony in the Indian music. "The dances were kept up all evening. They made signs to them to go away, but to no purpose, and when night came there was fear the horses might be stampeded by the earpiercing noise. The commander with his officers went out and gave them some beads on condition of their departing. He made signs that if they came to interrupt our sleep, we would receive them badly. That was enough, and they left us in peace the rest of the night."

The remarks on native delicacies were equally sympathetic. At San Fernando they "had a great repast to receive us. It consisted of good baskets of pinenut flour, chia and other berries, with other baskets full of water to wash them down. They gave us also nuts and acorns, and we enjoyed the repast heartily." A little after the natives brought a sweet jam, which seemed made from small peas, and a kind of honey-cakes, very sweet and purgative, which they make from the manna that forms on certain reeds." Elsewhere they offered "tamales of seeds that were equal to corn tamales," and others of black seeds, "not so bad to make porridge of as the soldiers said." On Christmas Day the native provisions excited Crespi's enthusiasm. That day they traveled three and a half leagues, and halted near a fishing camp, from which plenty of fish was bought for beads. "We celebrated Christmas with this feast, which tasted better to all of

us than capons or chickens could at another time, thanks to the fine sauce of St. Bernard that every man had in plenty. And we had a dessert of fine baskets full of nut and acorn flour, which last being made of white acorns, tastes and looks like a blanc mange." Crespi's judgment would hardly satisfy Brillat Savarin, though the bill of fare of the first Christmas dinner in California seems worth recording. Fish and acorn pudding seasoned with St. Bernard's sauce will hardly be often copied for Christmas fare.

The population was denser around Santa Barbara than even at Ventura. One village there had more than a hundred houses, and there were four other settlements near it. The population grew thinner after the party passed Point Conception. Crespi reckoned with apparent accuracy the Indian population between that point and San Fernando at not less than twenty thousand.

The road of the explorers still lay close to the shore. After Point Conception the mouths of the Santa Inez and Santa Maria streams were crossed. After passing the last the Spaniards met the first grizzly and killed it. Crespi was astonished at its size. "It was fourteen palms from the sole of the feet to the top of its back, and weighed fifteen arrobas," about eight hundred and fifty pounds, though it was in poor condition of flesh. "We all tried the meat and found it very good." Four or five days later in a cañada near the present San Luis Obispo, grizzlies were found in droves of fifteen or twenty each. The ground in places looked as if plowed for grain by their scratching for roots. Some soldiers who went hunting got experience of the qualities of the Californian grizzly. Two had their horses lamed and escaped themselves with difficulty. "When wounded they charge the hunter at full speed, and he can only escape by the legs of his horse," was Crespi's description. The Spanish soldiers, it may be said, showed less taste for hunting in any form than either English or French settlers in other parts of



America. The military muskets of the soldiers were not well suited for game, and neither they nor their descendants ever showed a desire to shine as Nimrods.

Twelve leagues north of the Morro Rock at San Luis Obispo the headland of the Santa Lucia stopped further progress along the coast. Portola thought they were within thirty leagues of the Bay of Monterey, and sent Rivera to find a pass through which the journey could be continued northward. Rivera found one, and the explorers began its ascent on the tenth of September. In three days they reached its summit only to find themselves faced on all sides by a sea of mountains. It was "a dismal view for poor travelers tired and worn with so long a journey and with cutting trails and making passage through woods, hills and swamps," was the impression recorded in the Franciscan's diary. The autumn cold on the mountains, too, began to make itself felt after the heat of the journey through the southern districts. Scurvy attacked some of the soldiers, and the recollection of the epidemic at San Diego was revived. Father Crespi noted in his diary, "These things tended to make our hearts sink, but when we recalled that the object of our toils was the glory of God in the salvation of souls and the service of the King by extending his dominions by this exploration, we all braced ourselves to work with good will."

They moved on through the Santa Lucia peaks for three or four days, meeting on the way a small stream, down which they shaped their course a little vaguely. The seventeenth of September came while they were still pushing on. It was the day on which the Catholic Church commemorates the impression of the signs of the Passion on Francis of Assisi at Mount Alvernia, and the Franciscans desired to celebrate the festival with a solemn mass, but Portola could not allow any halt in the uncertain conditions of the road to Monterey. Father Crespi indemnified his devotion by giving the name of Las Llagas, the

Stigmata, to the creek on whose banks they were traveling. He thought it hard that the Seraphic Father of all the Franciscans should not yet be definitely connected with any mission site in California. Accordingly, "though the name of St. Francis had been reserved for his famous town, as Father President had agreed with the honorable Visitor-general at Santa Ana, yet since this stream was not to be despised as the place for a fair little mission, I consecrated its name with that of his Stigmata." The title thus given has held its place on the map of modern California as well as that of its capital, "agreed on" between Galvez and Father Serra.

The explorers had been nine days working northerly through the mountains when the scouts reported the discovery of a large river, which from its direction seemed to lead to the Monterey of Cabrera Buenos' description. They took it for the Carmel River, so named at its mouth by the Carmelite chaplains of Viscaino. In point of fact it was the yet unnamed stream described by him as entering the sea to the north of Point Pinos, and which is since known as the Salinas. The party traveled down its course for four days, making about fifteen leagues by Crespi's reckoning. Mass was duly said on Michaelmas Day, and the next evening, when camp was pitched, the waves of the ocean could be heard. Nothing had occurred worth noting beyond meeting a couple of parties of Indian hunters and seeing some bands of antelope. The first day of October they came out on the shore in sight of the Point of Pines and the "famous harbor of Monterey."

They failed to recognize the harbor from the description of Cabrera Bueno. That told how "there was a low promontory, called Ano Nuevo, in latitude  $37^{\circ} 30'$ , from which the land swept eastward to another point called of Pines, in latitude  $37^{\circ} 0'$ . This Point of Pines was a low hill running about two leagues from northeast to southwest. It was well wooded with pine trees down to the water, and had on the south side scars of valleys, by

which it could be easily recognized. "This Point of Pines," Cabrera Bruno wrote, "made a famous harbor on the northeast side, into which a vessel could sail direct and anchor within six fathom lengths from shore." The directions were fully intelligible to a sailor, but unluckily there was no sailor in Portola's party. The Point of Pines was recognized at once, but the landsmen could see no sign of a harbor in the open beach on which the October winds drove the waves fiercely. Portola, Rivera, Costanso, Fages and the friars all agreed there was no harbor there, whatever other natural features existed. They wondered whether the desired port had been passed during their journey through the Sierra or lay further ahead. It was even suggested that the harbor might have been filled up by the sands, but this seemed most unlikely. The latitude given by the Manila pilot, moreover, was thirty-seven degrees for Point Pinos, while Costanso only made the place they found themselves thirty-six forty. Though there was not implicit confidence in the accuracy of the old records, it was enough to puzzle soldiers without any naval experience. Portola went round Carmel Bay, but found the coast to the south shut off by other headlands, and besides that the Carmel River was a mere brook, instead of the broad shallow stream described by Vizcaino.

Portola called officers and friars to a council on the fourth of October. It was the festival of Francis of Assisi, and the friars celebrated it with a solemn mass of the Holy Ghost to obtain guidance from above on the course to be followed. When mass was over, Portola gathered his officers and asked their opinions in "God's name." He told for himself that the River Carmel was only a little creek, and the port at its mouth a little roadstead; so the place they were then in could hardly be Monterey. It would take time to go on and find another. There were eleven men on the sick list, and they had only fifty costales of flour and cornmeal, but still something had to be done. Costanso advised to push on to latitude

37° 30', to learn whether the famous port had any real existence. Fages thought they ought at least to go as far as the latitude given by the pilot book, as he was sure they had not passed any port. Captain Rivera doubted that there was any port like that described, but thought they ought to make a settlement somewhere in the country, though not where they were. Portola gave his decision to rest a few days and then go on north as far as possible, after which he would select the most eligible place found for a post. Officers and priests approved this decision in writing. They hoped, Father Crespi wrote, "to run across the desired port, with the help of God, and to find the San Jose there to help out their need. If God willed we had all to perish in the search for Monterey, we would have done our duty to God and man by striving till death in the task laid on us."

With this stout-hearted resolution, the party moved forward on the seventh of October from Monterey. Sergeant Ortega and some scouts had meantime explored as far as Point Ano Nuevo and found a large stream, which they thought might be the real Rio Carmel of Vizcaino. A rancheria of five hundred Indians was living there, and showed at first much distrust of the white strangers. The women screamed and the men took up their bows. Ortega dismounted and walked towards the excited crowd alone, making signs of peace. They finally quieted down and even gave food to the soldiers, but when the main party came up later the rancheria had been abandoned. When Ortega returned, the sick men were put in chairs on their mules and the party went slowly forward. They found the river, but it was evidently not the Carmel when examined. A large condor stuffed with brush was found in the rancheria on the bank of the stream, and the soldiers named it the Bird River, a title it since keeps as the Pajaro. The San Lorenzo was next met, and got its name from the friars' devotion, as did the Santa Cruz. The giant redwoods were noted for the first time by

Father Crespi, after this was crossed, as well as the madrone and buckeyes. Elk were seen, but not killed. The sick grew worse. Two were anointed before reaching the Pajaro, and three more before crossing the San Lorenzo. They improved a little after the sacraments were administered and none died. Provisions ran short, and the meat remaining was reserved for the sick exclusively.

A heavy rain came down on the twenty-second, and was followed by a marked improvement in the scurvy-stricken men, who rapidly recovered from that time. Violent diarrhoeas attacked many, however, including the Governor and Captain Rivera. The party stopped a day on this account, but on the thirtieth of October the journey was resumed along the shore, and on the next day the party mounted the steep ridge of Point San Pedro. The outer harbor of San Francisco and the island-like mass of Point Reyes to the northwest appeared in view. "When we reached the top of the ridge we saw a great bay formed by a headland running out so far as to seem an island. Northwest of us we saw six or seven white farallones of varying size. On the coast of the bay, towards the north, are seen some white ravines, and the entrance of an inlet towards the northeast. In view of these signs and of what the pilot Cabrera Bueno sets down, we recognized this port. It is that of our father St. Francis, and we have left that of Monterey behind us." So runs the entry made by Crespi on the day itself. They descended the hill and fixed their camp about two miles north of the point in a little valley with two streams, which joined before reaching the sea. It had plenty of bushes and wild roses and a few willows, but no trees. There were none on the hills near, and "only on the mountains that circle this bay could any be seen." The location and conditions point out San Pedro Rancho as the site of the camp. Father Crespi evidently regarded the stretch of coast from Point San Pedro to Point Reyes as the Bay of San

Francisco, so named by Ceremon in 1595. Some of the soldiers, however, were still doubtful whether they were past Monterey, and to settle the point the Governor sent the unwearied Sergeant Ortega with a party to examine the country towards Point Reyes.

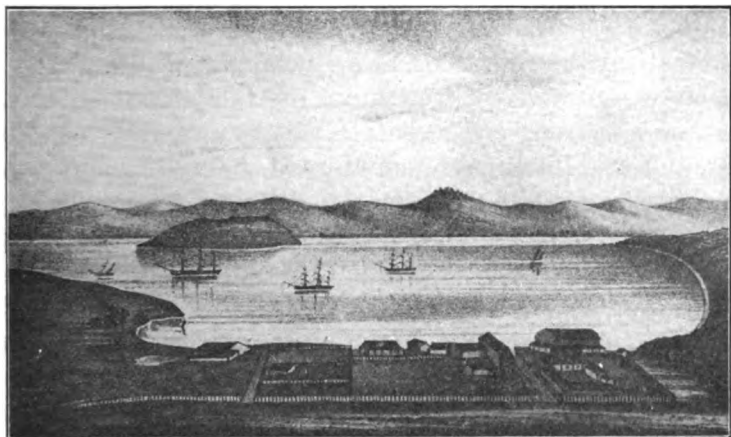
The name of San Francisco, it may be seen from the foregoing, was not given by the first Franciscan visitors. Captain Rivera, in a certificate still preserved, says simply of this: "We went by land to San Diego and Monterey, and having failed to find the latter, we went on in search of it till we came to San Francisco, whence we turned back for want of provisions." Cabrera Bueno's *Navegacion*, printed in Manila in 1734, which was the text-book used by Costanso and Crespi through the expedition, began the topography of the coast as far north as Cape Mendocino. It goes on to state that "at 38° 30' the land forms a moderately high headland so far out as to seem an island from a distance, and named Punta de los Reyes. It forms a detached hill or morro and makes on the northwest a good shelter against all winds, which is called San Francisco. In southerly winds the anchorage is at the end of the beach, where it makes an angle on the northwest, and on the northeast are three white rocks near the sea, with an inlet opposite the middle one with smooth water and no breakers at the entrance." It cannot be determined what extent the Spanish navigators gave to the port of San Francisco so described. In their minds it may have been limited to Drake's or Baker's Bay to the south of the headland, and the "inlet" merely the entrance to the inner harbor there. Crespi certainly regarded the whole coast from Point Reyes to Point San Pedro as included in the "Port called San Francisco." He identified the Golden Gate when seen on the thirty-first of October with the inlet described in the pilot book, without more critical examination than a landsman would ordinarily give to such a point. The name of San Francisco attached to a bay in this locality was certainly as old

as the year 1595, when the Manila galleon San Augustin ran ashore near Point Reyes. The great inland bay which now bears the name was the real discovery of Portola. It is a curious irony of exploration that the greatest harbor of America should have been first found by a dragoon captain who had no idea of its importance, and who only got to it because he was incapable of knowing the harbor of Monterey when under his eyes.

The discovery was made on the Feast of All Saints. On that day, after mass, Sergeant Ortega with some scouts and three days' rations left the party to find a route to Point Reyes. Some other soldiers also got leave to hunt, as many deer had been seen around. The hunters returned at night and reported that from the hills behind the camp they had seen an "immense inlet or arm of the sea, which ran towards the southeast as far as the eye could reach. This story confirmed us in the opinion that we were at the port of our father, St. Francis, and that what they told of was surely the inlet of which Cabrera Bueno speaks, and which we had not seen the entrance to as we came down." The explorers with Ortega came back the next night with great discharges of fire arms in sign of good news, and told the same story. They added that they had gathered from signs made by the natives that the head of the inlet was at two days' journey away, and that a ship was there. From that some thought "that we were indeed at Monterey, and the San Jose or San Carlos waiting for us. Assuredly our needs made us wish, though not believe, we were in Monterey, and not in San Francisco. The Governor decided to go on and seek the port and ship the gentiles spoke of to the scouts."

They left the camp on San Pedro creek on the fourth of November, the feast of San Carlos Borromeo, as Crespi notes, and crossed the hills in a northeasterly direction. From the top of a hill near the north of the Spring Valley reservoirs the whole party had their first view of the bay, the great Mediterranean sea, as Palou enthusiasti-

cally called it. They did not go to the Golden Gate, but turned southward, hoping to get around the bay to Point Reyes, the stopping point now desired by Portola. They followed the valley now occupied by the artificial lakes down to San Mateo creek and the site of Searsville, where camp was made on the seventh. Ortega and his scouts went again to examine the shores of the bay and came back on the tenth much discouraged. To the north and east there was no feed, and the natives were hostile. The bay stretched to north and south equally, and it was a journey round of many leagues, with no sign to tell how



BAY OF SAN FRANCISCO

many. Portola again took council with officers and padres, and all gave written opinions that it was necessary to return. Portola was inclined to keep on around the bay, but submitted with good grace to the unanimous judgment of his subordinates. They traveled over the hills to their first camp near Point San Pedro, and after a day's rest and a feast on the "excellent mussels there," the back journey was made to Point Pinos. Father Crespi satisfied his zeal by giving the name of St. Francis to the valley down which the expedition traveled from San Bruno.



No incident of importance marked the return journey. The soldiers made up their scanty rations of tortillas with wild geese and mussels. When these grew scarce, they "passed hungry times, which they diverted with some gulls and pelicans they killed, and whose flesh their need did not let them object to." The party reached Point Pinos after sixteen days' march, and the leaders again explored it on both sides to find a port if one existed. Rivera tried to get down the coast southwards to see if the famous harbor might not be somewhere along the Santa Lucia range, but he found the way impassable for horses. Crespi's diary tells the feelings of the whole party with pathetic earnestness. "Since there is no doubt about the Sierra de San Lucia that we have south of this camp, and yet we cannot see the harbor of Monterey so amply described before this by practical navigators, able and intelligent men of good character, who came expressly to explore these coasts, all there is for us to say is that we have not found it by our keenest searching. It may be that it has been filled up and destroyed in the course of time, yet we have no reasons to assert that such is the case. All that can fairly be stated is that Governor, officers and soldiers have all tried their best to find this harbor, and have not found it. Indeed God has let us get to the harbor of San Francisco, which all of us recognize, and we recognize, too, landmarks, like the mountain range of Santa Lucia, which are said to be on the south of the port of Monterey. For myself, I have nothing to say, but leave time to tell and take us all out of our bewilderment."

The childlike honesty of Crespi's statement is repeated in the document drawn up by Governor Portola and buried at the foot of a wooden cross, which he left at Point Pinos before turning back to San Diego. Portola called a council to discuss whether it was advisable to stay where they were, as long as they could hold out, or turn back to San Diego and report their failure to find the "famous harbor of Monterey." Portola's own inclination was to

send back most of the men and stay himself with whatever number were willing to bear him company. He thought it possible, in view of the orders of Galvez, that a vessel might yet come to this point, and perhaps its sailors might find the port which baffled his own recognition. The two friars declared their readiness to stay with Portola. The other officers thought it wisest to return before the snows that had already begun to fall should make travel impossible. The Governor yielded to the unanimous opinion of his subordinates, and began his return march on the ninth of December.

It took forty-four days to reach San Diego from Monterey. Cold, rain and short rations were the chief hardships of the back trip. There were only fourteen quarters of flour left when the party turned south, and Portola thought it best to divide forty tortillas to each man with a recommendation to consume no more than five a day. Crespi declares candidly that the appetites of all were so keen that twenty a day would not be gluttony. They got some supplies from the Indians along the channel when they reached its coasts, but still there was much privation to be borne by all during the return journey.

It is creditable to the Spanish common soldiers that no disorders were recorded against them during the dreary return march. Two Mexican mule drivers got leave to go hunting at Monterey, and did not return, and three of the Indians absented themselves without leave, but there were no desertions among the Spanish soldiers, either of the regulars or the frontier militia. Their conduct in this point was in strong contrast with the English sailors of Cook and Bligh in the same century. It was the more so, as the Indians along the route urged the strangers to stay with them, and promised them lives of plenty, without the need of work. The whole party reached San Diego on the twenty-fourth of January, and saluted the stockade with a fusilade. The remnant of their comrades came joyfully out to welcome them.

Things had fared even worse with those left behind than with the unsuccessful explorers. The latter had not lost a man, but nineteen had died at San Diego during their absence. Among them were six of the eight natives of the peninsula. Crespi tells the story of the meeting briefly. "We found our President, Fray Junipero Serra, recovering from the sickness, and likewise our Prior, Fray Hernando Parron. The Father Preacher, Juan Viscaino, had been wounded by an arrow in an attack made by the Indians on the fifteenth of August. A good many of the soldiers, both the Catalan Volunteers and those from Loretto, were still ill with scurvy, and they told us how many had died. The learned doctor had done all he could, but though he saved many, nineteen had died. They were eight Spanish soldiers, four sailors, six Christians from Loretto and a workman." Fifty-seven deaths among a body of less than two hundred in the space of three months was a heavy mortality indeed. To it must be added nine of the crew of the San Antonio who died on the home voyage, and the crew of the San Jose, who were never heard of after their departure from Cape San Lucas. It is remarkable that no signs of panic are spoken of amongst the first settlers of California.

Portola's position was very trying. He had not found Monterey, though he had gone beyond its supposed latitude, and he had received no answer to the demand for succor consequent on the disability of the naval branch of the expedition under his charge. He had but twelve men left alive of his own company which had started from Cape San Lucas twenty-five strong a year before. His associate, Captain Vila, had only five sailors and two boys left alive, and no tidings had come back of the San Antonio after seven months' waiting. The sickness had prevented any attempt to plant crops at San Diego, and the supplies for both that mission and Monterey had been all consumed. Nothing remained but the stores destined to found the mission at San Buenaventura. The

third ship, the San Jose, which had been promised by the Visitor General to arrive in a few months, had not been heard of during the year since the San Carlos sailed. Famine threatened to finish the work of pestilence in the first Californian settlement.

There was also danger from the Indians. Those around San Diego had shown themselves very different in temper from the friendly tribes met elsewhere. During Portola's absence they had taken advantage of the reduced condition of the Spaniards, and after various attempts at pilfering from both the ship and the hospital tents, had made an armed attack on the latter and their guards. One man was killed and another and Fray Viscaino wounded before the assailants retreated under the fire of the hospital guards. They came back afterwards to promise peace and get their wounded treated by the Spanish surgeon, but their temper continued surly, and there was no telling when another attack might be made. They showed no willingness to hold intercourse, even with the Franciscans, and Father Serra, during six months' residence, had only been able to win the confidence of a single boy. The prospect of future hostilities was considerable.

Portola concluded, with reason, that it would be a useless waste of life to continue the post at San Diego, unless speedy help came. He sent Captain Rivera with the twenty "leather-jackets" and most of the Christian Indians to Lower California in search of possible supplies. The wounded friar Viscaino was sent with them. The Governor declared he would wait till the twentieth of March for either Rivera's return or a vessel from Mexico. If neither reached San Diego by that day he would march the remaining soldiers under his command back to the peninsula. His determination was fully justified by the circumstances.

The naval officer Vila took another view of his duty, and decided to stay with his ship and seven sailors at all

risks. He could not sail her with such a crew, so he determined to stay with her till either help or death came. The Franciscans also took an independent course. Father Serra and Crespi decided to remain, and try to win over the Indians alone. They would live on the vessel and make excursions among the savages, whose language they were now acquainted with to some extent. The other two Franciscans were to return with Portola. There was no clash between the Governor and the Franciscans or Vila on their decisions. Each followed his own judgment without criticism of the others. Father Serra took the course meanwhile to offer a novena to St. Joseph, as the best means in his power to hasten the coming of the help so much desired by all. The church festival of the saint fell on the day immediately before the date fixed for departure by Portola, and the novena finished then. In the evening a sail appeared far out at sea. It disappeared at nightfall, and was not seen the next day, but it was enough to make Portola suspend his march. Five days later she appeared again, and this time entered the harbor. She proved to be the *San Antonio*, which had been sent back to seek aid eight months before, but by a singular combination her arrival in San Diego was contrary to the express orders given by Galvez. When she returned to San Blas with news of the straits to which the post there was reduced, the Visitor sent her at once to Monterey to meet Portola there and help in the immediate occupation of its port. The third packet, the *San Jose*, was ordered to sail at once for San Diego with supplies, and an extra crew for Vila's ship. The wellmeant instructions of the Visitor were baffled in the case of both ships by a series of unlooked-for accidents, which nearly entailed the abandonment of the Californian settlements in spite of his anxiety to maintain them.

The *San Jose* sailed as soon as ready from Cape San Lucas, but after three months' struggle with head winds had to return there without reaching San Diego. Father

Murguia was to go on her, but at her return he was laid up with an attack of fever, and could not embark. The San Jose sailed again in June, but was never heard of more. Whether she foundered at sea or her crew perished by scurvy, as that of the first vessel had so nearly done, was never known. Her commander had the Celtic name of Callegan. Had the garrison at San Diego been left to the aid sent in the San Jose alone, the post would certainly have been abandoned.

The San Antonio, after losing nine men on her return voyage, sailed for Monterey in the beginning of the year. She had no intention of touching at San Diego when first seen off that port, but at Point Conception a couple of days later an accident to her rudder obliged Captain Perez to return there for repairs. Her arrival changed the plans of Portola, and enabled him at length to accomplish the task of occupying Monterey. The Franciscan chronicler had no hesitation in ascribing this strange combination of events to the protection of their heavenly patron, St. Joseph, and it would seem their sentiments were shared by the military and naval officers.

## CHAPTER III

### THE FINDING OF MONTEREY

With the San Antonio to help his search, Portola started again to seek the elusive port of Monterey. He did not wait the return of Rivera's party from Lower California, but set out with the force available. It was less than half what had gone the year before. Portola and Fages were the only officers, and Crespi the only priest. Ortega was left with eight leather-jackets to protect the two friars who remained to win over the San Diego natives. Ten Californian Christians were left with them to begin cultivation, and five with two Mexicans went with Portola. One of these had remained in the Santa Lucia mountains the winter before. He came into San Diego in April with no costume but a breech clout and musket, having traveled without molestation the whole distance alone, and everywhere getting food from the Indians. Twelve Catalan regulars and seven militiamen made up the expedition which started in the middle of April on the same day with the packet which carried Father Serra. Before leaving, Portola sent dispatches to Velicata for the Viceroy. Two Californians carried them there safely in nine days, though the march originally had consumed forty-six.

The San Antonio landed some provisions for San Diego, and carried the rest of her cargo on to Monterey. The party at San Diego was left to await further supplies from the San Jose, which never came, or the return of Rivera with the cattle from Lower California. The packet had a weary struggle with baffling winds. She was driven nearly half way back to Cape San Lucas on getting out of San Diego, and then was carried up to San Francisco Bay, which she did not examine, for want of orders, as

Crespi adds. It was not till the last of May that her captain reached Point Pinos, which he had no difficulty in recognizing from Cabrera Bueno's description. Portola's party was there a week before, and lighted fires as a signal, which were answered by artillery from the packet. Captain Perez followed the directions of the Directory like a good sailor, and dropped anchor a couple of hundred yards from the point without trouble, the launch sounding before him and six fathoms of water being found. The "famous port of Monterey" was as easily recognized by the sailors as San Diego had been.

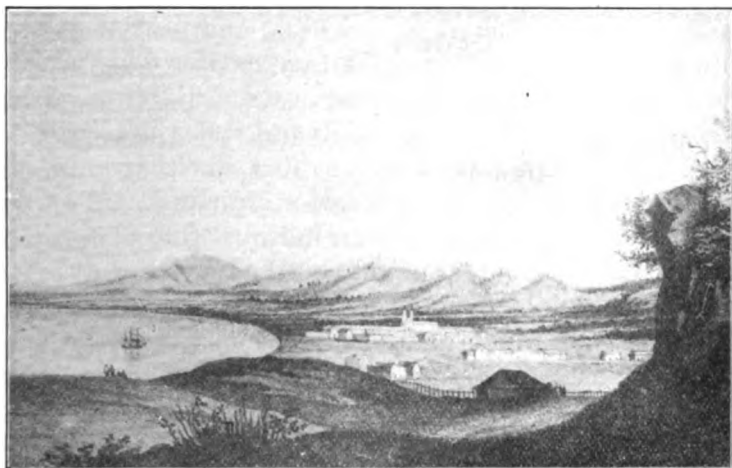
Portola had already recognized it himself, without the vessel's help. As soon as his party reached their old camping grounds, after thirty-eight days' journey, Portola, Crespi and Fages went to look for the cross which had been set up the year before. Crespi conscientiously tells how neither the Governor nor himself had been before at its site. It was set up by Captain Rivera with a party of soldiers, who had borne witness that they had seen no more sign of a port at the Point of Pines than Portola had on his trip along the shore between it and Ano Nuevo. Crespi and Portola found the cross and were agreeably surprised to find it surrounded with Indians' arrows and feathered rods. There were also offerings of mussels and fish, some quite fresh, which evidently had been placed there as a mark of homage of some kind. "Our hearts were touched, seeing that, in a way, the gentiles offered some homage to the sacred wood, though without knowledge of what it represented. One could hope from that act of religion (though only a material one) that they would not refuse the sign of salvation on their foreheads and in their hearts, when their minds should be enlightened by the teachings of the Gospel." Having gratified their curiosity and the good friars' devotion with the examination of the cross, the Spaniards turned their eyes towards the sea, where they had all so vainly looked for sign of a harbor on their former visit.



They now looked only for the expected vessel, but what met their eyes was an unexpected revelation. "As the day was very clear, we saw the long sweep of coast formed by this Point of Pines, and the other we supposed to be Point Ano Nuevo, and we remarked that the sea through all this great sweep was as smooth as milk, so that it looked like a great lagoon. Countless sea wolves were swimming and crying on its surface, and two great whales were blowing within fifty yards of the land." This last was an evident sign of deep water, even to landmen. They walked a few paces on the sands and noted that the unruffled stretch of sea was marked and bounded by the Point of Pines and that of Ano Nuevo, so that "it looked like a lake, as round as an O." Then Crespi and Fages "together broke out and said, Why, this is the Port of Monterey that we are in search of, for it is as Sebastian Vizcaino tells, to the very letter." Then the friar took out a compass to note the direction of its entrance, and "saw that for a northwest wind it had the entrance open for this great sweep, and so they believed beyond doubt that it was the Port of Monterey, but to be more sure they waited for the bark to come and clear up everything."

This explanation of Crespi accounts for the failure to identify the port on the first expedition. To landmen the space between the distant headlands, when roughened by the winds showed no difference from the body of ocean waters beyond. It was only when a change of winds showed the protected water "as smooth as milk" that its true form was recognized. The whales sporting near the shore gave a farther indication of deep water there, which otherwise the soldiers had no means of knowing in the absence of boats. The simplicity of the puzzle which sent Portola back from a six months' expedition without finding a harbor when beside it, is amusing; but one must appreciate the candor with which its history is told. Crespi makes no attempt to explain away or excuse his

obtuseness; he merely tells how it happened. With all his delight at the finding of San Francisco Bay, as a result of the error, he makes no suggestion of preternatural causes for it. The old Franciscans had full confidence in the efficacy of prayer as an agency in temporal, no less than spiritual, concerns, but they did not suggest miracles where natural causes sufficed. The opportune arrival of the *San Antonio* on the day before the proposed abandonment of the colony, might be regarded as a miracle by some of the Spanish soldiers, but Father Crespi carefully



PORT OF MONTEREY

guards himself against such an assertion. "The colony would have been abandoned," he writes, "if God had not ordered that a sail was seen on St. Joseph's own day, to whose protection the occurrence may be attributed, as he is the patron of the expedition." With all their piety, neither Serra nor Crespi forgot the lessons of Catholic theology they had learned in the old university of Palma.

The *San Antonio* arrived a week later, and Serra and her captain landed on the first of June. The companies expressed their joy with numerous salvos for having found the long-sought harbor. The third of that month was

chosen to take formal possession of the land in the name of the King of Spain. It was the usual custom of the time, and Captain Cook was almost simultaneously building a monument and drinking wine to claim possession of New Zealand for His Majesty George the Third of England. In California the ceremony was invested with a religious character. The soldiers had found the very oak under which the Carmelite friars who accompanied Vizcaino had celebrated the first mass in California, a hundred and sixty-eight years before. The giant tree, with its branches wetted by the spray of the high tides, was recognized more easily than the anchorage had been, and near it a rustic chapel was built of branches and reeds. The third of June that year was Whit-Sunday. A huge cross was raised, and Father Serra, in alb and stole, blessed it and the land. The soldiers and sailors knelt around, and joined in the hymn "Veni Creator Spiritus." The next function was of a more solemn nature. One of the petty officers had died at sea, and his body was duly given Christian burial. Father Serra then sang high mass, while the bells which had been hung on trees were rung, and the soldiers discharged their guns at intervals. A picture of our Lady of Guadalupe, given by the Archbishop of Mexico, was hung behind the rude altar, and when mass was ended a Te Deum was sung by all.

The religious service ended, the commandant proceeded to take formal possession of the land in the name of the King, Charles the Third. The royal standard was run up again on its flagstaff, having already been hoisted when the mission cross was raised. "The usual forms of pulling grass, casting stones and taking record of the same were added," as Crespi conscientiously notes, "and thus from that day God's worship began, and the famous port of Monterey passed under the authority of the King of Spain." The functions closed with a modest feast on the shore, in which officers, friars and all the people, both

sailors and landsmen, shared, and the artillery celebrated the event with repeated volleys.

The next day the engineer officer laid out a stockade at the distance of a gunshot from the shore and within three of the anchorage of the San Antonio. The stakes were cut, and work commenced, sailors and soldiers joining. A few cabins were built within the enclosure for the garrison and the friars, and all finished in less than a couple of weeks. Another function, the procession of the Holy Sacrament on Corpus Christi, celebrated the completion of the stockade. No natives appeared during all this time, in spite of their offerings at the old cross and the friendly relations which had existed between them and Portola's men on the first expedition. Father Serra had taken possession of his spiritual jurisdiction as formally as Portola had announced the claims of the King, and on the same day. He gave the mission its name of San Carlos, and its patron St. Joseph, "in virtue of powers granted himself by the King and the Guardian and council of the apostolic College of San Fernando in Mexico, and he named Father Crespi as his fellow minister for the same." The distinction between the powers of church and state was carefully noted in the first settlement of Spanish California. The authority of the King of Spain could convey priests to California, but it was only their religious superior that could give them the right to act as priests there.

Portola had now fulfilled his mission in California, and in obedience to orders he placed Lieutenant Fages in command at Monterey and sailed for San Blas to render an account to Galvez and the Viceroy. Before his departure he sent letters by land, telling of the establishment of the post. A soldier and one of the sailors volunteered to carry the dispatches, and traveled with them to San Diego without mishap. Rivera had not yet returned, and they traveled on to the south of the peninsula, where they delivered the dispatches to the Lieutenant-Governor, Armona, on the second of August, having spent less than

two months on the whole trip. Portola himself, however, reached San Blas on the same day, and thus won the "albricias" of the good news.

He had been just one year in Upper California, most of which was spent in the saddle. The honor of discovering San Francisco Bay is fairly due to the Catalan captain of dragoons. The lack of nautical knowledge which prevented him from knowing the port of Monterey when under his eyes, is redeemed by the fidelity to duty and dogged perseverance, which carried him on to the greater bay. His treatment of the natives throughout was marked with kindly humanity, and the same appeared in the treatment of his own men. The straightforward character of his dispatches to the Viceroy and Galvez is remarkable in a subordinate officer. From Loretto, when he landed there to arrest the Jesuits under orders from the King himself, Portola did not hesitate to write to the royal Visitor in favor of his prisoners and to declare that there had been no need of force to secure their submission. His whole term of office lasted only two years, and the fourteen months he spent in Upper California were little more than continuous journeying, but he merits honorable mention as the first European ruler of the land and the discoverer of San Francisco Bay.

His naval colleague, Captain Vila, also deserves a share of credit. The destruction of his crews by the scurvy excluded him from further part in the exploration after reaching San Diego, but his determination to die rather than abandon his fever-stricken vessel showed the spirit of a brave sailor. He lived only to guide the San Carlos back to her harbor. When the San Jose failed to appear in San Diego at the promised time and the San Antonio passed it on her return trip from Monterey without touching at the port, Vila would wait no longer. He took the San Carlos to sea with only his five sailors and three landmen. He made the voyage safely to San Blas, but died in a few days after entering its harbor.

The news of the occupation of Monterey was received with great satisfaction by Galvez and the Viceroy in Mexico. All the bells of the city were rung, and a high mass of thanksgiving chanted in the cathedral. The Government published a full account of the settlement and circulated it through all the cities of the Viceroyalty. Special note was made of the number of times that the occupation of California had been attempted before without success. The national domain had been extended three hundred leagues, and the dispositions of its people made it likely they would readily become brothers in faith with the Spaniards. It was likewise announced as a matter of grave public interest that thirty Franciscans would be sent without delay to California to work for this desired result.

To secure these missionaries the Viceroy applied to the College of San Fernando. He specified the localities for which they were needed, ten for the peninsular existing missions, ten for the new territory and ten for establishments between Santa Maria and San Diego. The Government promised three hundred dollars annually for each priest and a thousand for the expenses of each new foundation. These payments, it should be said, were drawn from the Pious Fund, and in no sense a burthen on the taxes. As the college had difficulty in furnishing so many priests, its superiors asked that the missions in their charge in the Sierra Gorda should be secularized. The change was made by agreement between the College on the one hand and the Viceroy and Bishop on the other, as had been done twenty years earlier in the Jesuit establishments in Durango. Parish priests were named by the Bishop for the Indian villages, and native alcaldes appointed to manage their temporal affairs, as the friars had done. The possession of their lands or the community system of work was not affected by this form of secularization, the only one recognized by Spanish law. It was a process wholly different from the secularization applied

to the Californian missions under Mexican rule at a later time.

It may be of interest to describe here the forms with which a colony, similar in many respects to that founded by Galvez in California, was inaugurated eighteen years later by the British Government. A settlement in New South Wales was ordered by the English ministry in 1786. It was to be a military post, like Monterey, with the addition, not of a mission, but a settlement of convicts. The expedition sailed the following year and included somewhat over two hundred soldiers and seven hundred convicts. A chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Johnson, was sent as representative of the Church, which was then regarded in Great Britain as more intimately connected with the State than in any Catholic country. A naval officer, Captain Philips, was named Governor, and given powers more extensive than those of Galvez in Mexico. Captain Philips selected a site for his colony at Sydney Cove, and landed his people on the twenty-eighth of January, 1788. The Royal Standard was run up that day, and with his officers assembled round it, he "drank the Health of the King and success to the Settlement with much emotion."

The formal establishment, corresponding to Portola's at Monterey, was celebrated on the seventh of February. "The Royal Standard was raised in presence of the whole population. The military were drawn up under arms, the Governor surrounded by his officers, the prisoners placed on one side." The Royal Commission was read first by the Judge Advocate; then the Act of Parliament authorizing the establishment of civil and criminal courts in the colony, and lastly the Letters Patent under the Great Seal, which empowered the proper officers to summon and hold such courts. By the letters patent the Governor was clothed with extraordinary powers. "He could sentence without appeal to five hundred lashes and impose fines of five hundred pounds, and was empowered, at his discretion, to regulate customs and trade, fix prices of articles

for sale and wages, create monopolies of any salable article, grant the public lands in unlimited quantities, and remit any punishments ordered by the courts, even in capital cases." The enumeration of these powers furnished the most interesting part of the inauguration ceremonial.

The address of Governor Philips, which followed the reading, was the principal religious feature. His language in part of it was not unlike that of Galvez to the sailors of the *San Carlos*. He assured the soldiers and convicts that "they would have the surpassing honor of having introduced the Christian religion and European civilization into the southern hemisphere. It would be their honor to plant the standard of the cross and the flag of their country among populous nations, to whom both were little known. Their energies would be directed towards the extension of commerce, spread of the English language, and the extension of the true faith." The Governor further assured his hearers "that a Special Providence had watched over them, and directed their course, made the winds and sea propitious, and brought them safe to their destination." This address took the place of the *Te Deum* chanted at the foundation of Monterey.

The Governor, however, did not show the same disposition as Galvez to provide teachers for the nations among whom the faith was to be extended. No church was built for five years, and then only a cabin costing two hundred dollars, and no clergymen appeared in the colony for a much longer time, except the first chaplain. The Governor required attendance at the English Church service on Sundays from all convicts, under penalty of reduced rations. For five years this service was held only by the convict overseers, and in the open air. The Governor himself, however, did not attend any public worship. The story of the Australian settlement is told by Samuel Sidney in his "Three Colonies of Australia," with the same simplicity as Palou tells that of California.



The council of Charles III. gave no such authority to its officials as that conferred on Captain Philips. The Spanish Governor received the ordinary military authority over his own men and the right to administer the laws of Mexico through his jurisdiction. The points impressed on him by the first instructions of Galvez were chiefly to make the natives understand that their visitors were friends, and to guard against treacherous attacks from the former.

The garrison left with Fages at Monterey was only twenty men, and there was no hope of communication with the outer world until the return of the packet the following year. Seven Californian Indians remained to help the friars in cultivating the ground and other works. The soldiers were employed in strengthening the stockade and building their houses. The friars and their Indians began planting grain when their church was finished in a simple way. The natives kept away during the presence of the vessel, and after it departed they only appeared by one or two at the settlement. The friars did what they could to remove their fears and learn their dialect. One of the Christian Indians picked up the latter easily and was of use as an interpreter, but on the whole there was little communication between the races. It was not till the close of the year that Father Serra could baptize any one, and then it was only a child of five years.

The loneliness of life under these conditions is well expressed in the Mission President's letters to Palou. From San Diego, while Portola was preparing to abandon it, he wrote: "It is nearly a year since I have heard from either you or our College. Our chief trial is lack of intercourse with you and news. We have good health, so a tortilla a day, with the wild fruits of the country, are enough for our support." A letter written later on the eve of his departure for Monterey adds: "I had no letter by this vessel. The death of Pope Clement XIII. and the election of one of our religious, Ganganelli, have reached us as

rumors. If such be the case, tell us the name of the new Pope, that we may use it in our daily prayers. Tell us, too, if St. Joseph of Cupertino has been canonized, and anything else of importance to us poor solitaries, shut out from all the world."

At San Diego conditions were still more gloomy. The natives were not only indifferent, but insolent and threatening. When Serra once tried to baptize a dying infant, it was rudely snatched from his arms. The natives threw the gifts of food offered them away with contempt. Even after three years, Palou wrote of the San Diego Indians: "They all showed much ill-temper and dislike of us, and only came near us to steal what they could, and spy on our actions, mocking us openly all the time." The friars left by Serra, Fathers Gomez and Parron, were both attacked by scurvy, and had to return to Mexico after little over a year. Of the five pioneer missionaries chosen for the Monterey settlement, only Father Crespi remained with the President at the end of two years' hardships.

Famine was also experienced at San Diego a second time in the first months of 1771. When Portola went the second time to Monterey, he only left twenty-five bushels of flour for the support of soldiers, friars and Indians, until the expected coming of the San Jose. The loss of that vessel left them destitute till the middle of the next year. The priests and Indians planted a grain field, but it failed for lack of moisture. The next season a lower site was selected, and it was ruined by a flood. Rivera came back with two hundred cattle and fourteen soldiers from Lower California, and by this alone the settlement was saved from starvation.

Rivera's return increased the military force in the colony to forty, but unfortunately dissensions followed between Portola's regulars and the frontier militiamen. The latter were dissatisfied with seeing their captain outranked by an officer of lower grade, and the rough manners of Fages made the breach wider. He was hot tem-

pered and arbitrary, and the isolation of his position did not improve his temper. Several soldiers deserted and went to live among the savages. Fages further showed an inclination to domineer the work of the priests. He refused food to the Californians engaged in the mission as workmen. An order from the Viceroy was sent on the next trip of the San Antonio, requiring the Governor not to interfere in any way in the mission work. The packet also brought twelve Catalan infantrymen to supply the losses in the company of Fages, and ten Franciscans from the College of San Fernando in May, 1771. There were now fourteen priests and about fifty soldiers in the colony. With eight or ten Mexican vaqueros and twenty Christian Indians from the peninsula, they formed the whole civilized population. The soldiers received three hundred and seventy-five dollars annual pay from the Treasury in consideration of the hardships of the service in California. The Franciscans were allowed four hundred each from the Pious Fund. The latter stipends were chiefly employed in buying goods for the use of the native converts.

Viceroy de la Croix, in his letters by the packet, desired the establishment of six new missions away from the military posts. Two of the priests still in California were, however, broken down in health and had to return to Mexico, and two others had already returned under like conditions. Father Serra wrote to Palou for four more colleagues, and meantime divided those already in the country for four of the projected missions. Fathers Jayme and Dumetz were sent to San Diego to relieve the invalids there. Somera and Cambon were appointed to begin a mission at San Gabriel, Juncosa and Cavaller one at San Luis Obispo, and Fathers Paterna and Cruzado a third at San Buenaventura. All these had been recommended by the Viceroy. Serra planned a fourth at San Antonio in the Santa Lucia district nearer Monterey. He named Fathers Sitjar and Pieras, both Mallorcans like himself, for this last. The missions recommended

by de la Croix at San Francisco and near San Diego were postponed for the time.

Governor Fages readily furnished guards and went himself to San Diego to take part in beginning the missions on the Santa Barbara channel. Serra went himself to found that of San Antonio. Palou tells the rest: "He took Fray Miguel Pieras and Fray Buenaventura Sitjar as administrators, with six soldiers of the guard and three sailors and some Californians to build the houses. They traveled twenty-five leagues from the post and came to a wide valley, full of oak trees. The reverend President made search and found a very good site near a stream with plenty of water, which they saw could easily be taken to water the land near by, which was of good quality and large quantity. They called the place San Antonio.

A cross was then made for the mission and blessed and set up, hard by a brush hut that served as a chapel. The Father President said mass there, so giving the mission its beginning on the feast of the seraphic doctor St. Buenaventura. On that same day many gentiles came from their rancherias for the strange sight, and when they learned by signs why the strangers had come, they showed much joy. They showed it by coming in numbers and by the great gifts of pine nuts and seeds they brought us."

Serra next built a chapel and a dwelling of poles, surrounded with a fence for safety. They also built cottages for the guards, workmen and Californian Indians. The natives showed increased good will, bringing their seeds to eat and telling them to keep some of them for the winter's use. After fifteen days the President left, saying he was sure it would be a great mission, through the many gentiles there and their goodwill.

When San Antonio was thus started, Father Serra returned to Monterey to change the site of the mission there from its first location beside the fort to the little valley of Carmel, five miles off. He attributed the fewness of the natives who came to visit them to their fear of the

soldiers, and wished to keep the mission a good distance from the latter. The change had been sanctioned by the Viceroy, and Fages had detailed five soldiers as a separate guard for it. Father Serra began work there in the beginning of August with four Californian laborers and three sailors, the soldiers likewise taking a hand. "They built a chapel and a dwelling of four rooms and a larger apartment for a storeroom. They built likewise a house and kitchen for the boys, all of wood, with a good palisade around them." In a corner was a guard house for the soldiers and hard by corrals for the cattle and horses. As the workmen were few, the works went slow and were not finished till the last day of December, when they all moved in, according to Palou's detailed story. His description of the site itself is worth translation, as pointing out the motives which guided the old friars in their choice of mission sites.

"Mission San Carlos with this change was in a pleasant situation, being on a rising ground with a wide plain in view, very fit for cultivation. It is the valley of the Carmel River, which runs all the year, and the valley is well covered with trees, willows and other bushes, with plenty of roses of Castile. It has a good pond on the left with plenty of water, especially in the rainy season, and even in the summer it keeps supplied by wells within it. In flood time it would be easy with a levee of a hundred yards long to keep enough water to irrigate all that is needed of the plain. The mission is enclosed by hills, with good feed on them for cattle, and it has plenty of firewood and also of timber to work, such as pines, white oak and redwood. Round it are several rancherias of gentiles, who quickly visited us and became converts not much later."

The foundation of the missions along the channel was not effected as easily as that of San Antonio. The want of discipline of the soldiers under Fages' command and that officer's desire to show his authority over the mis-

sions were the causes of the trouble. The Governor went with the six Franciscans on the packet to San Diego with the design of taking a part personally in the new foundations. He was kept from it by the desertion of ten of the San Diego garrison a week after his arrival there. The militiamen of Rivera's company resented the rough manners and military autocracy of the new commander. He had to temporize and induced the deserters to return by the persuasion of Father Paterna and a free pardon. Five others deserted after the return of the first, and when overtaken by Fages entrenched themselves and declared they would fight to the death rather than return. They were finally won back by the efforts of Father Dumetz, but the occurrences both irritated and alarmed the Governor and had a serious effect on his subsequent conduct towards the missions.

Fathers Cambon and Somera set out to begin the mission of San Gabriel, immediately after the return of the first deserters. Fages could not go with them, but he thought it good to send a large military party of fourteen under orders of a corporal with the priests. The number of the strangers alarmed the natives, who came to meet them in a large body, armed and with threats of hostilities. Father Somera went to meet the warriors and unrolled before their eyes a picture of Our Lady of Bethlehem on a large banner. The Indians were astonished, and laid their bows on the ground in sign of peace, while two brought their shell necklaces and laid them before the picture as gifts.

Confidence being thus restored, the mission buildings were begun on the eighth of September, and quickly finished for occupation. The "gentiles" helped readily in the work, and brought wild flowers to decorate the church when finished. Four of the soldiers were then sent back to San Diego with the packmules, as the friars felt full confidence in the goodwill of the natives and disliked the needless guards. The corporal in command, however, was of

a different mind, and called two more soldiers in consequence of the crowds of visitors to the mission. One of his men meanwhile offered violence to an Indian woman, and a party in revenge attacked the two newcomers. One of them killed the chief among his assailants, and the others fled. The corporal had the body beheaded and fixed the head on a stake in front of the guardhouse. He then made a military promenade among the rancherias and threatened severe punishments in case of further attacks. The Franciscans had much difficulty in restoring confidence enough to let them go on with their work. They had the head of the slain warrior returned to his friends and obtained the removal of the soldier who had caused the first trouble. Peace was thus restored after some time, but Fages thought it needful to increase the guard to sixteen men, in consequence of the incident. This body paid no attention to the remonstrances of the priests, but treated the natives with contempt and declined to work in any way themselves. The soldiers were allowed to ramble at will among the rancherias, and committed several outrages and homicides there in the usual fashion of reckless frontiersmen. Both Cambon and Somera broke down in health and had to be sent to Lower California within a year. Fages at last removed the corporal in command from his post, and better discipline was kept, but the progress of conversion and settlement had been materially impeded meanwhile.

The Governor further refused to allow the friars to begin the proposed mission at San Buenaventura. He gave the occurrences at San Gabriel as a reason for not carrying out the orders of the Viceroy. Serra urged that the mission should be begun with only five or six guards, as at San Antonio, but Fages declined to separate his soldiers into such squads, and as his authority was absolute, the mission remained unfounded several years.

The Governor meantime employed himself in exploring the eastern shores of San Francisco Bay. Crespi accom-

panied and kept diary of the journey. They left Monterey in March, and crossed the Salinas and San Benito creeks, the last near the present site of Hollister, which Crespi thought suitable for a mission. They traveled thence through the San Bernardino Valley into that of Santa Clara, which is called by Father Crespi "the oak plain of San Francisco port." The camp was made at the mouth of the Penitencia creek on the fourth day, and on the Alameda creek the next. Several large animals were seen here, which some thought buffaloes, and others mule deer, but were in reality elk. The Indians along the route were friendly, though not as numerous as on the Santa Barbara channel. A rancheria of thirty huts was the largest noticed. The next day they camped at Alameda, and the next at Cerrito creek, north of Berkeley. They took the latitude of the Golden Gate from the Berkeley shore, and killed a grizzly shortly afterwards, which gave fresh meat for dinner.

In Pinole Valley a "good sized rancheria of fair and bearded Indians" was found. They gave the strangers seeds and roots to eat, and also two stuffed geese, which they used as decoys. Four whales were noticed blowing in San Pablo Bay. Crespi's experience at Monterey suggested this to be a sure sign of deep water, and made him add, all the fleets of Spain could find shelter there. Five villages of the same "fair and bearded natives" were found east of Carquinez. That strait barred their passage to Point Reyes, which had been the point aimed at when setting out. Fages traveled on, and from some hills beyond the present town of Pacheco the party looked down on the valleys and rivers now called the Sacramento and San Joaquin. They camped on the banks near Antioch. Father Crespi described the water system as one great river, splitting into various channels and named it Rio de San Francisco. It was "the largest river in New Spain" in his belief. It was impossible to reach Point Reyes without boats to cross the rivers, and the party returned to



Monterey. Their return was through San Ramon and Suñol valleys to the shore of the bay near where Mission San Jose afterwards stood. They reached Monterey after fourteen days' absence, and Crespi reported the journey to his superior.

That the establishment of a mission at San Francisco must be deferred was the common consent of both Fages and Father Crespi. The port of San Francisco was believed by both to be at the south of Point Reyes, and could not be reached without vessels. Father Serra urged that the other missions, especially San Buenaventura, should be begun at once, as ordered by the Viceroy. The commander refused on the ground of insufficient soldiers, and he grew surly towards the Franciscan President in consequence of the latter's urgency on this point. Supplies, too, were running short, and the frequent desertions among his men aggravated the naturally hot temper of Fages, and made his treatment of the friars exceptionally arrogant.

Crespi, on returning from the San Joaquin, was sent to San Diego to replace Father Dumetz, who was invalided there. The transports came in sight of Monterey in August, but were driven back by head winds, and finally had to anchor in San Diego. Meanwhile the distress in every mission was severe. Father Serra wrote to Palou in August that at Monterey they had depended chiefly on seeds and pine nuts, of which Pieras had sent four mule loads from San Antonio. At San Diego they had whale to eat, but none at Monterey. The milk of the cows and vegetables from the mission garden were the only food there. Still Serra did not regret having founded the missions. "Some souls had already gone to heaven from Monterey, San Antonio and San Diego. There was a great number of Christians living to praise God. In San Diego many adults had been baptized, and similar results would soon be had elsewhere. The children were already beginning to speak Spanish. If Fathers Lasuen and Mur-

guia come to this desert, let them bring courage and patience. No doubt Father Palou needed the same where he was."

Fages at the end of May took a party of soldiers south to the "Valley of Bears," and slaughtered grizzlies for a supply of meat to all the posts and missions. The meat was jerked like venison and much relished by all. The Governor supplemented it with seeds and nuts bought from the Indians with whom he kept friendly relations. With all his hot temper, Fages was by no means cruel or bloodthirsty. His action towards the mutinous deserters indicates as much, as well as his general good treatment of the Indians. Towards most of the friars, especially Crespi, he was personally friendly, but the isolation of his position as Governor gave him an undue opinion of his own authority, which irritated most of those under his rule.

When the supply ships reached Monterey in 1772, the Governor consented to the foundation of the mission at San Luis Obispo. He had spent several months bear hunting near its site the year before, and was well satisfied with the temper of the natives. Serra had only one priest available at the time, owing to the numerous cases of sickness among the pioneer missionaries. He thought it better to suspend the rule which required the presence of two Franciscans at each station rather than wait. The mission was founded on the first of September, 1772, in much the same form as San Antonio. Serra in person celebrated the foundation, and Fray Cavaller was left as sole administrator, with five soldiers as companions. Fifty pounds of flour and three bushels of wheat were all the supplies that could be left, and priest and soldiers had to live for several months chiefly on Indian nuts and roots. The patron of the mission was St. Louis of Toulouse, the nephew of St. Louis, King of France, whose name was preserved in San Luis Rey. Both King and Bishop were members of the Franciscan order.

After the foundation of San Luis, Father Serra again urged on Fages that of San Buenaventura, but to no purpose. The Governor grew more and more despotic, and he ordered his soldiers to pay no attention to any orders but his own in their duties at the missions. Complaints of outrages on the natives were disregarded. Fages went so far as to open the letters between the Franciscans and their college in Mexico and to forward or retain them at his own will. Father Serra, at sixty years, decided to visit Mexico and lay the state of mission affairs in California before the new Viceroy, Bucareli. He sailed in the packet to San Blas and traveled on foot to Guadalajara. A violent attack of fever nearly ended his days there, but he recovered and finally reached the capital, where he was received cordially by his countryman Verger, then President of San Fernando College.

It took five months to make the journey from San Blas. It was a remarkable effort for one of Serra's years, but it was a matter of necessity for the preservation of the California missions. The petulant arrogance of the military officer at Monterey made the work desired equally by the Franciscans and the general Government impossible. Fages' action in tampering with the letters of the Franciscans made the personal appearance of Serra needed in the capital. His journey, it may be said, was fully successful. The Quaker-like simplicity of the country friar at the Mexican court was well received. It throws a new light, too, on the methods and men of Spanish administration in America at the time.

## CHAPTER IV

### FRIARS AND MEXICAN OFFICIALS

Father Serra reached the Mexican capital in February, 1773. The moment was favorable for the consideration of subjects connected with California. Galvez had returned to Spain in 1771, and the same year a new Viceroy, Fray Antonio Bucareli, arrived in Mexico. He had been Governor of Cuba, and was a man of high intelligence and higher personal character. He was deeply interested in the future of the new settlements in California, and the fact that Galvez was now President of the Council of the Indies, the colonial department of Spain, gave additional weight to any recommendations he might make on California. The missions in the peninsula had been transferred to the Dominicans after Bucareli's arrival, but he had little knowledge of the northern settlements. The arrival of the Franciscan President was welcomed by the Viceroy and high officials as an excellent chance for obtaining the desired information. Through Father Verger, Serra was requested to furnish a full report on the Californian missions to the Council of War and Finances, and to add any recommendations he thought good.

Palou gives the memorial, which was sent in a month after Serra's arrival in Mexico. It is a curious blending of practical knowledge and shrewd common-sense, with childlike simplicity of language, Serra went seriously into small details at times in nearly the language of Sancho Panza: "I think it would be well if your Excellency would caution the storekeeper at San Blas to pay more heed to his packing of provisions. No meat at all came last year, and what came this year, besides being little in quantity was so dry and wormy that the people said it was the remnant of the year before." This is one of the quaint remarks of the memorial.

Its main points, however, were so clearly put that they were nearly all adopted by the Viceroy's council. It had been proposed to suppress the packet station at San Blas and send the supplies needed for Monterey overland. Serra showed plainly the greater cost of such a transport and urged the maintenance and increase of the packet service. At the same time he advised opening roads to California both from Sonora and New Mexico, and suggested the exploration of the northern coasts by the packets. He dwelt, too, on the importance of sending colonists and advised that only married men should be enlisted, and the soldiers allowed to bring their families to California at Government expense. He also gave his opinion on the number of soldiers needed at each mission and recommended that the garrison of California should be taken from the frontier militia and not from the regular regiments "whose officers and men had no experience of life in a new country."

His requests in favor of the missions were numerous but modest in actual cost. He asked that his Excellency should give the commandant and soldiers to understand that the management, rule and education of the baptized natives rested with the missionaries, except in cases of bloodshed. "The soldiers should be forbidden to punish or ill-treat such Christians without the consent of the missionary, as had been the immemorial custom of Mexico since its conquest by the Spaniards." It had also been ordered by Senor Galvez before leaving California, and was according to the principles of the natural right of parents over children. Serra regretted to say that in California this order of Galvez had been little attended to, and much ill had been the result. He asked that the commandant should be instructed to remove any soldier complained of by the missionaries without their having to give a specified reason for such removal. Immorality among the soldiers was a very serious matter in the eyes of the priests charged with the conversion of the natives, but hardly so

regarded by the average military officer. He also asked the privilege for each mission of selecting one soldier as a permanent official who was not to be removed without cause by the Governor, and who should take his orders from the Administrator.

The material help asked was small. Father Serra's own allowance ought, he thought, be paid while he was in Mexico, as it was not right that the College should have to board him while his time was given to the public service. Bells and vestments were asked for the new missions, and some workmen to be employed at each and paid sailor's wages by the San Blas establishment. Two carpenters and two smiths were also asked for. The motive for one of these requests was quaintly told. "Since your Excellency sent a forge on the last ships to San Diego, which with much ado I got the officer to turn over, it only remains that you should send a smith to use it. It is badly needed there, for when a spade or axe is damaged there is nothing to do, but throw it away, since it is a year's job to send it to Monterey where the only smith is to be found. Even in my own place, which is next door, I may say it is a common thing to have an axe that could be fixed in fifteen minutes, kept several weeks, and our work delayed in consequence of the same."

A like tone of simplicity runs through his remarks concerning the military element. Fages, he thought, unfit for the duties of a commander. "In my opinion, since it is asked, the only cure for trouble is to remove the officer, Don Pedro Fages, from the Government at Monterey. If it is not done, squabbles will never end among the soldiers, not so much, as I have often heard them say, on account of overwork and short rations, as for the bad temper and worse manners of that same officer, which I know myself by long experience. I am just after getting letters from soldiers both of the regulars and the militiamen to officers of their own here in Mexico, begging to be got out of the subjection and tyranny they have

to face in that garrison. It would be too long to tell of all the mischief his behavior has done to the missions, but if the particulars are needed they will be forthcoming at the least hint from your Excellency. Meantime if what has been said and what your Excellency has learned already is enough, I will only beg your Excellency to let him go with credit and without disgrace, and may God bless him."

Some quaint particulars of the officer's bad temper and manners appear in other parts of the memorial. A request that mission supplies should be distinctly addressed to their administrators was made, "because when bells had been sent from San Blas the year before Fages told the friars that they were sent to him and that he would do as he pleased with them. When I asked him last year to include the rations for the only two Californians that I have in Carmel in the mission supply he told me he would give nothing for Indians, and that if I did not like it I might turn them adrift. Our letters, too, come in the packages consigned to the officer, so that we can only get them when and where he likes as I could explain to your Excellency by word of mouth." Finally the request for a smith at Carmel Mission is backed by telling how "the fathers in their last letters are very anxious for this petition's success, for they are tired of fighting at the presidio, where, though the officer does not absolutely refuse the work they want done the same work goes very slow."

Father Serra's unfavorable judgment on Lieutenant Fages did not come from any antipathy to soldiers as a class. He stood up for them and their rights as warmly as for his Indians. "It would be right to have a full hundred of the leather jackets stationed in California and they should have their commissary store at Monterey with a list of prices and regular payments without need of long accounts at Loretto so far away. And I think they ought to get a little more pay, since the last regulations

cut it down considerably while they gave them more work. With that little increase the men now there will be satisfied and others with families will ask to go there, as in other times men used to beg for a soldier's job, when it could keep the family comfortably in his house, but nowadays no one either looks for such a job or likes it."

Even the deserters received attention in the thirty-first clause of the memorial. "I beg your Excellency to let the commander in Monterey proclaim a general pardon for the deserters if any there are off among the heathens,



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for it will save risk of trouble among the natives, and risk of perdition for the poor wandering, misguided Christians, and such an example of your great pity for poor offenders will be a general relief for everybody."

Perhaps the most original clause in the memorial is the warm recommendation given by Serra to the sergeant at San Diego whom "he humbly ventured to propose as the best fitted in California for the office of Governor." The sergeant's panegyric is four times as long as the complaints against Fages. "For his merits and capacity I will say what I know. He was in service in old Cali-



fornia in the time of the banished Fathers and he got the rank of sergeant then. When he quitted that position and went to work in the mines there, they made him justice of the peace because he was thought best fitted for it in the whole country, and he served with a good name some years. Then when Don Gaspar Portola came as Governor, he offered him his old position as sergeant, and he managed the commissary store and accounts at Loretto for over a year. When the time came to go to Monterey the same sergeant came with the Governor and myself, and he was promised a commission on his return, in the letter of the Honorable Visitor, which I saw myself. On the road, the Governor had him go before with soldiers to explore the whole time, so he made three miles for every other man's one. The risk of traveling among unknown heathens kept me always anxious myself. The sergeant went to Monterey, and as Fathers Crespi and Gomez told me, who were there, his work was splendid the whole way. He, it was, that went farthest in exploring around the Bay of San Francisco, and trying to get across the rivers. As to his qualifications for the office, I have to say from what I have seen, that in commanding soldiers he is strict without being irritable, is sensible and thoughtful, and I believe the men will like him though they will fear him, and they will fear him all that is needed without having to dislike him. And since, at home in his own town of Zelaya, he had charge of store and shop, is intelligent in business matters and writes a good hand, I am sure that if he is Governor the commissary store will be well managed and its accounts honestly kept. Don Pedro Fages has the office now, though he is only a lieutenant, the decent man that I speak of, can fill it with the same rank if your Excellency thinks well, and if not you will decide best as always."

The contrast between the homely character of Sergeant Ortega's qualifications and the dignified titles of the body to which Father Serra so confidently submitted them is

amusing. Palou gives the official rank of the councilors of the Viceroy at full length. It was "the Royal Council of War and the Treasury" called by the most Excellent Viceroy of this Kingdom, Fray Don Antonio Maria Bucareli Ursua Henostrosa Lazo la Vega Villacis y Cordoba, Knight Commander of the Order of San Juan, General of the armies of His Majesty, Viceroy of this New Spain, President of the Royal Audience, Superintendent of the Treasury. There were present the Senors Valcarel, Knight of Santiago, member of the Royal Privy Council and Auditor for the War Department, Don Jose Rodriguez, Knight of the same Order, and Judge of the noble city of Huehuetoca, Don Jose de Areche, Fiscal in the Royal Audience, the Treasury Councilors Don C. Barrueta and Don Santiago Abad, the Treasurer Don Pedro Valdez, the Factor Don Juan Herrera, the Sub-Treasurers Don Fernando Mangino and Don Antonio de Arce y Arroyo. The Viceroy and Royal Junta in Mexico corresponded in rank and powers with the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council of Ireland at the time. It is amusing to imagine the reception the latter body would have given to a plea for Irish peasants, written in Serra's style, by some benevolent country parson.

Serra's application for the discharge of some soldiers seems worthy of Sancho Panza. "I ask your Excellency the discharge of five soldiers of the Catalan volunteers for the consolation of the poor men. They are now in Monterey, and three of them have wives in Spain, another does not know whether he is a widower or not, and the fifth is an invalid. Further I beg your Excellency the same favor for three of the Leather Company, who have wives in distant parts and have been away from their families a long time. They are Michael Islas, a decent Spaniard who has a wife and daughter in Mexico, and has not seen them for seven years. John Coronel, a mulatto, is married in Sinaloa and has been away from home many years, and last, one Zembrano, whose first name I

forget. He is married in San Luis Potosi. He is fit for no duty anyhow, and it is quite sure that he does very little good where he is. For the whole three, as well as the others, I think your Excellency will do a good deed before God, if you give them their discharge and let them go back to their homes."

Zembrano, the black sheep, is pleaded for, "because he is mighty little use there," and Miguel Islas, because he is "un honrado Español." The Council left the whole thing to the discretion of the Viceroy, so we have no notice how the petitioners fared.

The high officials took the friar's plain speech with equanimity and acted on it. The memorial was sent to Bucareli on the 15th of March, and the writer was then asked his opinion on the substitution of mule trains for the shipping. Father Serra answered on the 22nd of April. The proposed change would be more expensive and less effective than the sea route. It would require from eleven to fifteen hundred mules to carry supplies from Loretto to San Diego and the drivers alone would cost more than the sailors. The Viceroy accepted this statement and ordered that no change should be made in the transport service. The remaining thirty points of the memorial, he submitted to the Council in their original language.

The Councilors discussed and noted on each point. They at once approved most of them. That the priests should be held legal guardians of the converts, with the right of parents over their education, property and discipline in the mission settlements, was pronounced the common law of Spanish America. Instructions to carry it out were ordered sent to the Governors of both Californias. The requests for bells, vestments, free postage and transport for charitable donations were granted, as well as the tools and mechanics asked for. Serra's suggestion that a fixed standard of weights and measures should be established in the commissary service was adopted. Vary-

ing weights and measures were a common trouble in all civilized countries at the time, and engaged the attention of the English Parliament half a century later. The points concerning the enlisting and discharge of soldiers and officers was left to Bucareli as Commander-in-chief. Finally a resolution was passed to frame a general Regulation for the administration of California, and Don Juan Echeveste, the financial agent since the time of Galvez, was ordered to prepare it at once. He was desired especially to include in it, provision for colonists, for communications, rates of pay and storehouse administration. The official documents are given at length by Palou and convey an idea of the methods of public business in the old colonies of Spain. They were, in substance, more like those of our own time, than those of most European Governments in the eighteenth century. One is struck by the limitations of power of each individual, including the Viceroy, and the detail given to each point of the measures before it was published as law. The various sums appropriated or available are given in dollars, grains and tomines, the pay of sailors, of cabin boys, and landsmen, exactly specified, and the amounts available in various funds, set down with the precision of a modern budget. Twenty-nine thousand six hundred and forty-six dollars were provided for the dockyard at San Blas, and thirty-four thousand and thirty-seven for the expenses of the three vessels on the Californian station, both to be annually paid for a term of five years from specified funds. The friars were to receive four hundred dollars a year each, with day allowance of three reales additional for five years as ration money. The total yearly grant to them was six thousand nine hundred and seventy-nine dollars and three reales. The officials of Mexico were keen for bookkeeping accuracy.

There seems a sly touch of humor in the closing paragraphs of the Council's report on Serra's memorial. After referring to several points to be settled in the new

regulations, the report goes on to finish with the recommendations. "That the Commandant in the new presidio publish a general pardon for deserters, and that Fray Junipero Serra be supplied with the asked for information about these resolutions, and likewise with a copy of the new regulations, as soon as they are prepared. It will be sent after him to his destination, and we request and charge him to get there with all possible haste, for sake of the souls to be converted there. We don't allow him anything for traveling expenses, since we think him reimbursed for what he has had to spend, by the year's salary conceded, though he was not on mission work that time.

"All which is agreed and signed by the members of the Council this ninth of May, 1773.

"BUCARELI,

"VALDEZ,

"GUTIEREZ,

"MANGINO,

"ARCE,

"JOSE GORRAEZ."

The Regulation or organic law for the new settlements was drafted by Senor Echeveste in ten days. It was then submitted for examination and amendment to the Fiscal or Attorney-General Areche, who returned his report on the fourteenth of June. It was then sent to Mangino the Superintendent of the Pious Fund, who noted the funds available from that source. On the nineteenth, Bucareli called a council to meet on the eighth of July, when the measure was fully discussed and passed. It was made law by the proclamation issued by the Viceroy fifteen days later. The dispatch of official business at the Mexican capital appears to have been fairly rapid and the details of legislation intelligently discussed. The limitations of the power of officials, and the need of concurrence in legislation of different departments seem to have

been greater than in most European governments in the eighteenth century.

The absence of class feeling among the high Spanish officials of Mexico, three years before the Declaration of Independence, is worthy of notice. Serra was only a barefooted friar of peasant family and without high rank in his own order. The Viceroy and his councilors treated his suggestions with as much attention and courtesy as those of a colleague. The difference between Spanish and British ideas of aristocracy is well illustrated by a comparison of Bucareli's treatment of Serra, and that which Lord Chesterfield at the same time gave Dr. Johnson when the latter sought his protection as a needy man of letters. The spirit of equality of all classes before the law is shown in the reception given to Serra's recommendation of Sergeant Ortega for Governor of California. In France at the time, nobility of birth for three generations was required for any commission in the army. In England, military commissions were a matter of purchase, and promotion of soldiers from the ranks was almost unheard of. In the Spanish service in Mexico it seems to have been the usual course. Ortega received a commission, though he was not made Governor, and the reason given was that longer military standing was needed. Most of the officers in the history of California were drawn from the ranks. The marked difference between Spanish and English practice in this respect was illustrated by the indignation expressed by English officers during the American Revolution at the insolence of "cobblers and sailors" styling themselves Captains and Colonels in the Colonial forces. In California an educational test seemed the only essential one. No soldier could be made a corporal unless he could read and write and a knowledge of accounts and capacity to write reports was required of sergeants and officers.

The new regulation in its administrative provisions was to go into effect at the beginning of the next year, 1774.

It provided for keeping up the dockyard at San Blas with a frigate and two packet boats or transports. The larger vessel had a crew of seventy, the packets of forty-two each. The cost of the first for wages, was fixed at about fifteen thousand dollars, each of the others at ten thousand. The Governor of the Californias was to reside at Loretto with a salary of four thousand dollars. The garrisons in the peninsula were only a lieutenant and thirty-three men, the pay of each soldier three hundred dollars. In the new establishments, the Captain commanding at Monterey was under orders of the Governor at Loretto and received three thousand dollars. He had under his charge eighty men, the private soldiers drawing three hundred and seventy-five dollars' pay each. At San Diego a sergeant was in command and allowed seven hundred dollars, the others having four hundred and fifty each. Two priests at each mission were allowed four hundred dollars each, which was also the pay of the corporals in charge of the escorts of five men. The annual cost of the whole military establishment in the peninsula was sixteen thousand five hundred, and in Monterey and San Diego thirty-eight thousand three hundred and fifty dollars. No distinctive name beyond "new establishments" was given to the northern territory. It only received the name of California Nueva in 1804, when it was officially separated from the peninsula, and that of Alta California after the separation of Mexico from Spain.

The high pay allowed soldiers in California by the Spanish colonial authorities is remarkable. In the English service, the highest paid in Europe at the time, a shilling a day, or ninety dollars a year was the pay of a private soldier. "The leather jackets" were allowed more than four times that amount. The gradation between the pay of officers and soldiers in the two services is still more striking. An ensign in the English service received five times the pay of a soldier. A lieutenant in California was only rated at five hundred dollars, a sergeant, four

hundred and fifty, a corporal, four hundred, a soldier, three hundred and seventy-five. Advance in rank brought little financial distinction. The Spanish military service in this respect was more democratic, before the American Revolution, than that of any modern state since.

In the naval service the pay was lower than in the army. Able seamen received ten dollars monthly and deck hands eight, the petty officers, twenty-four, mates, fifty, and captains, seventy. Rations were additional, and nearly equal for both classes. Captains and mates got a hundred dollars' allowance, sailors and deck hands, sixty-eight. Clerks in the dock yards received five hundred dollars annually. Caulkers and mechanics half that amount, with rations added. Grinding the faces of the poor seems to have been looked on as un-christian and ungentlemanly by all classes of the Spanish people in America. The feeling was illustrated in the correspondence between Borica, when Governor of Monterey, and two of his officers who complained of the soldiers' cattle injuring their gardens. Borica ordered them to fence their own lots "as it was not right that the many should be inconvenienced for the benefit of the few."

The Regulation gave no special powers to the Governors of California, such as conferred on the early British Governors in Australia. The Viceroy sent instructions to Rivera on some points of local importance, otherwise, he was supposed to discharge his civil and military duties in the same way as other commanders on the frontiers. He was empowered to found missions, with the concurrence of the Franciscan Superior but not without it. He was urged to use all care in selecting their sites as the Viceroy believed "these missions would later grow to be towns and even cities." He was directed to send away from the country all soldiers of bad character as soon as possible, and to remove from any mission such as the priests there objected to. In enlisting men for the service he was to select married men of good character, to give



transportation to their families, and encourage them to cultivate the land and form settlements at the military posts. Rivera was also directed to survey the country around the Bay and find, if possible, a road to the port at Point Reyes.

Serra left Mexico for the last time in September, 1773. He kissed the feet of every member of the College and asked their pardon for any ill example he might have given, and then started on foot to Tepic as he had come. A companion, Father Mugartegui, went with him. The exhortation of the Royal Council to hurry back to California, was not taken very seriously. It was only in January of the next year, that a vessel sailed from San Blas, and he took passage on it and got to San Diego in little over a month. Thence he walked to Monterey in five weeks, visiting each mission on the road. Rivera came up from Loretto by land a few weeks later and the new regulations were duly published then. He had been named Governor by Bucareli in place of Fages whose unfitness was clearly recognized. Sergeant Ortega received an officer's commission.

## CHAPTER V

### SPANISH EXPLORATIONS UNDER BUCARELI

Galvez had awakened the Mexican administration from the easy going methods into which it had fallen during the two centuries of peace that had passed before his time. Bucareli, who remained as its head after the return of the Visitor General to Spain, carried out the new policy with energy during his eight years' rule. Serra's suggestions of explorations in the Northern Pacific waters, and in the wilderness between California on the one side, and Sonora and New Mexico on the other, were both taken up by Bucareli. There was none of the old-fashioned "putting off till tomorrow" about his methods. The new frigate *Santiago*, which carried Serra to San Diego, had orders to continue her maiden voyage as far north as her Captain could safely venture that year. It was a hundred and seventy years since any European ship had tried the task of forcing its way against the head winds and scurvy-laden fogs of the Northern Pacific waters, and only a year before, the officials of Mexico had proposed to abolish the naval establishment at San Blas as a useless expense.

A road had been explored across the Colorado and its neighboring deserts, before the *Santiago* left Monterey. Captain Anza, of Tubac, with twenty men, had reached Monterey in March of 1775. He had, before, asked Galvez for permission to make the attempt and been refused. Bucareli, immediately after the Council of May, directed him to take whatever force he thought he needed, and try to find a practical route from Sonora to San Diego. Anza left Tubac in January, crossed the Gila and found, after some trouble, the San Geronimo Pass, through which he reached San Gabriel on the 22nd

of March. He sent most of his men back thence, and with six remaining he visited Fages at Monterey. In company with Father Garces, his chaplain, he made the return trip from San Gabriel to Tubac in three weeks. Captain Anza's rapidity was new in Californian exploration.

The progress made in converting the Californian Indians had been reported at the end of 1773 by Father Palou, who took Serra's place at Monterey during his absence. It was not by any means rapid. The natives were not hostile but showed little inclination for any higher life than their own. Four hundred and sixty was the whole number admitted to baptism in the four years since Serra planted the first mission at San Diego. Only a small part of even these had adopted settled abodes or habits of industry. In San Diego, the oldest settlement, only ninety-eight had accepted the Christian teaching, and most of these still lived as before, coming to church on Sundays, and sending their children to school irregularly. Only twelve families had built huts near the mission, and formed the nucleus of a village. Others came from their rancherias to hear the padres, and their teachers were hopeful of winning them yet, but had only hopes. Their own attempts at raising crops had been unfortunate. They had only got five bushels of wheat from their second harvest, and that had to be kept for seed. The Christian Indians had to find food in their old way, by fishing and gathering seeds and roots. The priests at San Diego had ordered a boat and nets from San Blas to improve their methods of fishing. The most satisfactory thing materially, was that the cattle brought from Lower California were doing well and increasing everywhere. When Palou reported to Bucareli, the stock in all the missions numbered two hundred cattle, ninety-four sheep, seventy horses, sixty goats and over a hundred hogs, besides seventy-seven pack mules and four donkeys.

In Carmel Mission there were a hundred and fifty-four

Christians, in San Antonio, a hundred and fifty, in San Gabriel, seventy-one, but only eleven in San Luis. About thirty baptized Indians had died during the four years. Thirty-two couples had been married in the same time in Monterey, including some Spanish soldiers, eighteen in San Antonio, and twelve in San Diego, but none in San Gabriel or San Luis. There were, however, five families of Indians from Lower California and five unmarried men settled at San Gabriel and engaged in farming. They had raised a hundred and thirty bushels of corn from two thirds of a bushel of seed, and seven bushels of beans from one-third of a bushel. The heathens around were very needy and engaged in constant wars among themselves, and Palou thought if crops could be raised they would soon draw the wanderers to settled life.

At San Luis Obispo it was different. Game and fish were plenty, and the Indians showed no inclination to change their way of life, though some of them were willing to become Christians and came to hear the teachings in the church. A few Californian Christians were the only settled inhabitants, and they had raised a crop of beans and corn. At San Antonio there were fifteen families of converts settled, besides three Spanish soldiers married to Indian women. They were putting in their first crop and hoped for good results. The heathens around were very friendly towards the friars and often brought presents of wild roots and game.

At Monterey cultivation was retarded by want of a good system of irrigation, but thirty-two families of Christians supported themselves by hunting, fishing and gathering berries. The friars had planted corn and wheat, but the corn failed through late planting. The wheat had given thirty fold return, but as the original sowing was the sixth of a bushel, the crop had been all saved for seeding.

Priests and cattle were ready for the projected establishments at San Buenaventura, on the Santa Barbara

Channel, and at Santa Clara and San Francisco. Palou estimated the number of savages along the coast of the channel as not less than twenty thousand. There were twenty-one large villages along the mule trail from San Diego. The population was also large between Point Conception and San Luis Obispo, especially at the mouth of the Santa Maria. It was thinner from San Luis to Monterey, but still sufficient to warrant the foundation of three settlements there. The sites of San Francisco and Santa Clara had not been sufficiently explored at the time for him to form an estimate of the native population there. The terms of Palou's report show that full freedom was left to the natives in the matter, either of adopting Christianity or of changing otherwise their modes of life. They also suggest the difficulties which the friars had to contend with in their first attempts at farming in the new land. On Serra's return to Monterey he found the priests and workmen in Carmel without any supplies except beans and coffee for many weeks. The converts there were all away fishing or gathering berries.

A donation made by the Viceroy to the missions on the occasion of Father Serra's return, illustrates the nature of life there at the time. A hundred mules were granted for transportation services, most of which, it may be added, were appropriated without scruples by the military officials. Bucareli, besides, sent five cases of blankets and coarse cloth to clothe the converts, and four boxes of colored beads for gifts to the savages. There were given in addition, twelve tons of flour, nine hundred bushels of corn, two hundred and fifty of beans, a hundred arrobas of dried beef, ten cases of hams, weighing fifteen hundred pounds, a hundred and fifty pounds of chocolate, sixteen boxes of brown sugar, nine hundred pounds of chile, three barrels of lard, nine packages of beans, nine of lentils and six of rice. Four barrels of Spanish wine, three of agua-diente, and nine cases of oil were the only liquids. The equipments of a blacksmith shop with six or seven hun-

dred pounds of sheet iron, and some bundles of dressed cedar boards, completed the list.

Serra sailed from San Blas in the new frigate *Santiago* in January, 1774, and landed at San Diego in March with his companion, Mugartegui. He traveled thence by land to Monterey in his usual fashion on foot, getting to the mission in the middle of May. He met Captain Anza on the way at San Gabriel and learned of the first journey from Sonora to California. Rivera, the newly appointed Governor, reached Monterey a few days after Father Serra, and at once took command. Lieutenant Fages with his Catalan regulars was ordered to return to Mexico and report to the Viceroy. He was seriously alarmed and in his perplexity asked Father Serra for a recommendation to Bucareli. Notwithstanding old grievances about supplies and opening letters, the Mission President gave the desired letters in terms almost like his endorsement of Sergeant Ortega. The troubles between the friars and Fages had been more exasperating than bitter. After Serra's departure to Mexico, the military commandant sent an official certificate of the good work already accomplished in the missions after him, unasked. Serra's action indicates no hard feelings between him and the deposed commander.

Rivera and Fages did not part so amicably. A rather tart correspondence, preserved by Bancroft, suggests that the feelings between the Spanish regulars and the frontier militiamen were not unlike those between regulars and volunteers in our own army today. Rivera, though a captain, had been left under orders of Lieutenant Fages by Portola. He speedily got transferred from Upper California, and now on his return, he treated his predecessor rather shortly, and ordered him to sail from Monterey at once on the *San Antonio*. Fages asked for permission to go first to San Diego to settle some accounts; Rivera informed him that the orders of the Viceroy were that Fages and the Catalans should sail on the first ves-

sel and added, "His Excellency was aware that Monterey was the lieutenant's residence and consequently it was from Monterey he must sail." Fages then showed a permit from Bucareli to himself to sail from whichever port he preferred and Rivera had to submit. Fages teased him further by asking to take some mules for his journey, which Rivera promptly forbade, on the supposition that they were military property. After the refusal, Fages showed the animals were his own and the Governor again had to give way. The correspondence between the two officers bore out Serra's remark that squabbles would never cease among the soldiers while Fages was in California. He sailed at last, more to the relief of Rivera rather than of the friars. Bucareli received him kindly at the capital and gave him a step in promotion in reward for his three years' service. He was sent to Sonora, from which he later came back as Governor to Monterey improved by experience, though with something left of his hot temper. Two of the Franciscans returned on the same vessel in broken health to Mexico.

Palou had brought eight others from Lower California during Serra's absence, leaving Father Cambon and another there to arrange the details of the transfer of the peninsula to the Dominicans. The Governor, Felipe Barri, showed a strong personal dislike to both Franciscans and Dominicans. He stopped the effects of the former at Velicata on frivolous pretexts, and it was only on reiterated orders from the Viceroy, that he at last allowed them to pass. Barri and Colonel Neve were the only Spanish Governors who showed any personal hostility to the friars in the whole history of California. There were altogether twenty priests in the new missions when Serra returned, but two had to be sent home through ill health. The remaining eighteen, however, were enough for all the proposed missions. Bucareli had desired that of San Francisco to be first attended to, and Rivera was ordered

to explore the Bay at once and locate it at the most suitable site there.

No missions, however, could be founded that year. Rivera did not interfere with the management of the old establishments, as Fages had done, but he was much more dilatory than his predecessor, and showed a nervous dread of responsibility for new foundations. He was also occupied with the needs of a party of fifty settlers that he had brought from Sonora and on their account he put off the exploration of the lands around the Bay. His action was in marked contrast to the activity of Anza. That officer travelled from San Gabriel to Tubac in three weeks and at once continued his journey to Mexico where he was well received by Bucareli and ordered to at once gather a colony for the new lands.

Captain Perez, on the Santiago, was equally prompt in carrying out the Viceroy's orders. After leaving the yearly supplies at Monterey, he sailed north and reached the south of Alaska in forty days. It was the furthest point north yet reached by any Spanish vessel or, indeed, by any European explorer except Behring. Fathers Crespi and Pena accompanied Perez on this voyage and kept diaries of its progress. On the return of the Santiago to San Blas, Bucareli ordered further explorations to be made the following year.

Rivera finally examined the shores of the Bay in company with Palou, but did nothing beyond suggesting possible sites for future missions. His journey was only over the route visited by himself five years before, on the west side of the Bay by Point Lobos, and the Laguna de la Merced. Rivera was singularly dilatory in action.

The only work Serra could accomplish this year was to move the mission of San Diego to a new site two leagues from the military post. The motives for this change were much the same as those which prompted the separation of the mission at Monterey from the Presidio there. The friars thought they would have better chance to con-



vert the natives away from the neighborhood of the soldiers and they also desired better land for their farming work. The change had been proposed before, but was objected to by Fages who distrusted the Indians, and even urged the friars not to let any of them live near the mission, but confine themselves to visiting the rancherias and giving what teaching they could there. Serra now moved the mission establishment up the valley with Rivera's consent. The original sites of several other missions were later changed, like those of San Carlos and San Diego.

There was no delay in carrying out any of the other measures decided on by the Mexican Council. Father Serra felt happy in his next report to note that the converts had nearly doubled in the year. There were seven hundred and sixty in the five missions, Carmel, having the largest number, two hundred and forty, and San Diego, the least, something under a hundred. The natives there were the least inclined to accept teaching of any in California. The cattle had increased by one-half in all the missions, and a thousand bushels of grain had been harvested, showing that famine need no longer be feared in California, as it had been.

On another point, the separation of the upper province from the peninsula, Serra's ideas were followed by Bucareli. Governor Barri was replaced at Loretto by Major Neve, an officer of Mexican birth and good education and family. The Viceroy, at the same time, made Rivera independent of Loretto in all but name. Fages had been only military commandant. Rivera was appointed Governor of Monterey and San Diego, with civil and military jurisdiction.

Perez made the northern trip as far as latitude 55 degrees in 1774, and he reported its success to the Viceroy at the close of that year. The San Blas squadron was at once reorganized as a part of the regular navy. Several Spanish officers and pilots were sent from the Atlantic

to take command of the vessels and introduce the regular naval discipline in their management. Ezeta, a lieutenant in the Royal Navy, received the grade of Captain and command of the whole force. Perez, the former commander of the Santiago, was appointed his sailing master or pilot, a position for which his experience well qualified him. Two other lieutenants, Quiros and Manrique, took command of the transports. All three sailed together from San Blas on the 16th of March, 1775, four months before Captain Cook started from London to find a northwest passage through or near Behring Straits. Three junior naval officers, with the grade of ensign, were attached to the exploration force. A small schooner of forty or fifty tons was added as a tender to the Santiago for exploration in shallow seas and inlets, which might be dangerous for the larger vessel. Fathers Campa and Serra, from the peninsular missions, accompanied Ezeta and kept a record of the voyage.

The San Antonio only went to San Diego with the regular cargo of supplies. The "San Carlos" carried the supplies for Monterey, and after landing them, went by orders of the Viceroy to explore for the first time the waters of the Bay, whose coasts had been visited by Fages and Rivera. The Santiago and the little schooner did not touch land until they reached Cape Trinidad, where Ezeta landed and took possession of the place in the name of Spain with the usual formalities of the time. The natives were friendly and helped the Spaniards to cut wood and fill the water casks. A large cross was made by the ship carpenters and set up on a hill. Fathers Campa and Serra sang mass, and many of the sailors and officers received communion.

The explorers remained ten days at Cape Trinidad and then worked northward against unfavorable winds. After twenty-five days they discovered the mouth of the Columbia, which had not been visited by Perez on his voyage to Prince of Wales Island the year before. They

named it "Bucareli's Roadstead" and both vessels anchored there on the fourteenth of July, 1775, just thirty years before the visit of Lewis and Clark to the same place.

The schooner Sonora had been at the beginning an impediment to the voyage on account of her slow sailing. Ezeta had to tow her for several days after leaving San Blas, as otherwise she would have been left behind. In the northern seas, however, whether owing to her rig or to the seamanship of her commander, Bodega, the schooner often outsailed her consort. In the Columbia she sailed a league farther up than the Santiago, before the two came to anchor. Serious adventures began the next day. The natives came off to both vessels in their canoes and offered fish and skins for sale with every sign of friendliness. Captain Ezeta with Father Serra and a party of sailors landed and took formal possession of the land as at Trinidad. There were only a few natives and these received the visitors with offers of fish and other food. In the afternoon, Bodega sent his boat with seven men ashore for water, after an invitation from some canoes which came alongside. The crew had hardly landed, when a couple of hundred armed savages rushed from ambush and killed the whole party. Nine canoes then put off to capture the schooner. The warriors were armed with bows and had leather jackets like those of the Spanish frontier militia. One canoe came alongside and the Indians tried to climb on board, but were driven off with loss by the four remaining sailors. Ezeta made no attempt at reprisals. He sent seven men from the Santiago to replace the sailors killed and the vessels sailed without delay from the unfriendly port.

Progress northward was delayed by headwinds, and to the end of July, the two vessels struggled in vain to advance. On the thirtieth, the schooner disappeared during the night. Ezeta took council with his pilots and officers the next day what to do. They all urged to return as they

had now been two weeks struggling with the winds without advance, and most of the crew were down with scurvy. Ezeta decided to keep on for some days in the hope of a change of wind. On the eleventh of August the Santiago had reached the latitude of Nootka on Vancouver Island, but the pilots remonstrated so strongly against further advance, that the commander consented to turn southward. Nearly all the sailors were down with scurvy and there were only three fit for duty on each watch. The course of the Santiago was turned, on the 13th of August, and Monterey reached on the last day of the month. The bearings of the entrance to Bucareli's Roadstead were noted on the return voyage, and the existence of a large river flowing into it. It was the most important discovery of Ezeta.

The San Carlos had made the first marine survey of the Bay within the Golden Gate while Ezeta was absent in the north. The survey was made by Ayala, and for the first time the interior bay received the name of San Francisco. It had before been only known as the "Great Estuary," and in the log of Perez, the year before, the harbor at Point Reyes had been named as the "Port of San Francisco." The name was henceforth given exclusively to the inner bay. The pilot Canizares, who accompanied the first expedition to San Diego, was on the San Carlos at this time.

To the surprise of all, the Sonora dropped anchor in Monterey a week after her consort. After getting separated from the frigate in July, her commander, Bodega, determined to try and reach the parallel of sixty-two north, which had been assigned by the Viceroy as the limit of Ezeta's exploration. The schooner, though small, could sail closer to the prevailing head winds than the frigate, and a cautious entry in Fray Campa's diary suggests that the parting of the two vessels in the night was not involuntary on Bodega's part. He certainly got further north than the commander-in-chief. He passed Sitka

and landed on the north end of Chicagoff Island, which he took formal possession of for Spain, ten months before the Declaration of Independence. It was the most northern limit of Spanish discovery or occupation on the American continent.

Bodega tried ineffectually to push still further north. He was driven back by the winds and currents to the island of Santa Margarita, now Prince of Wales Island, and landed there somewhat north of the furthest point reached by Perez the year before. He took possession here also, and named the passage between the island and the mainland "Bucareli's Strait." Bodega thought it might be the beginning of the mythical Strait of Anian from the Pacific to the Atlantic.

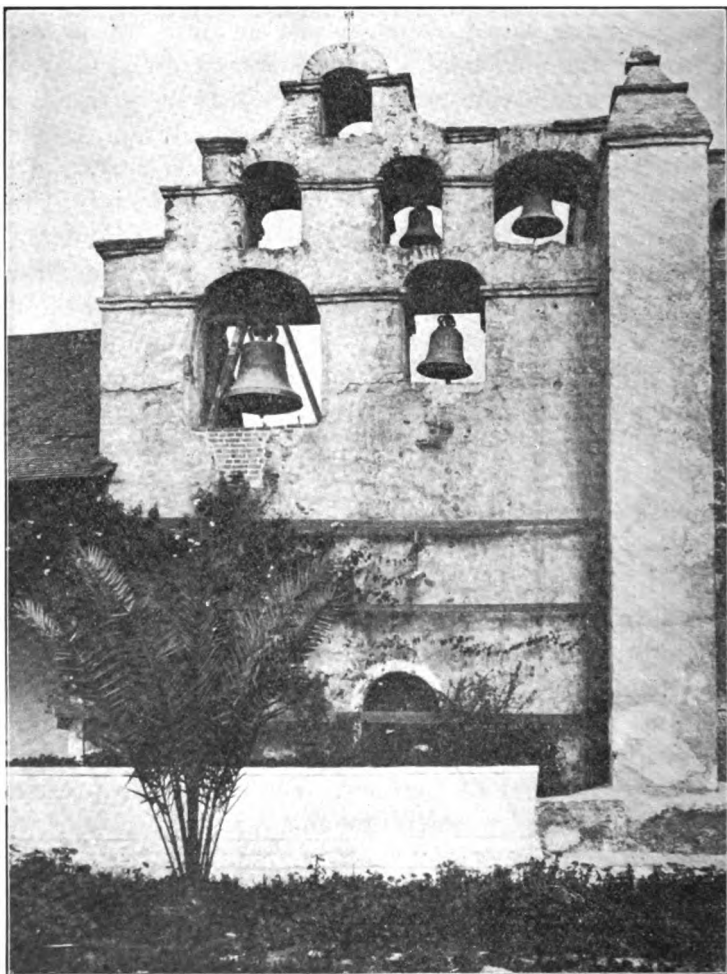
Bodega tried again to sail north, but the winds and the scurvy among his men obliged him to give up the attempt. The schooner's head was turned in September, but Bodega made the most of the voyage, and noted carefully all the prominent points of the coast. The unusually clear weather gave him special facilities for this, and he ran close to the coast most of the way. On the third of October Point Reyes was sighted and the little harbor, which since keeps Bodega's name on the map of California. The "Port of San Francisco" had been an object of interest to the Spanish sailors for several years, and Bodega thought this inlet might be it. He entered and found it a "reasonably good port" for his schooner at least. As the name of San Francisco had already been transferred to the inner bay, Bodega's name was attached to the port he anchored in at this time.

It came near ending the schooner's cruise. It got there to anchor on the third of October, and the captain thought it "a fair port, with water enough on its bar for any ship." He fancied it might be the outlet of some river, or connected with the bay behind the Golden Gate, and he wished to examine it fully before quitting. A crowd of Indians came to the shore to welcome the Span-

iards. Two came on board on a raft of tules, and presented the sailors with pine nuts. Bodega gave them beads in return, and the Indians held a dance all through the night. In the morning, however, a sudden swell swept a sea over the vessel, which nearly swamped it, and carried away the only boat. The schooner was righted with much ado, and it was noted that this was the fifth narrow escape from wreck that she had encountered. Bodega thought it best to get out of the dangerous port, and the crew vowed a solemn mass at Carmel to Our Lady if they got to Monterey. They reached it three days later. The schooner had not lost a man by sickness, though her crew had their share of scurvy. She had carried the flag of Spain further north than ever before in the Pacific, and two hundred miles beyond the strait reached by Perez. No question seems to have been raised as to whether Bodega had been accidentally separated from the frigate, or had cut loose from her. "Up to the present it is not known whether the separation was intentional or otherwise," Palou discreetly says. The crew of the schooner went to Carmel Mission on the eighth day after their arrival to fulfill their vows. "A solemn mass, with deacon and subdeacon, was sung, and at it all members of the expedition received communion, from the honorable captain and pilot to the last cabin boy." The schooner was careened at Monterey and sailed to San Blas with the frigate at the end of October. Both captains presented their charts and reports to the Viceroy. Both were thanked for their services and granted furloughs. Bodega was shortly afterwards commissioned to buy a vessel in Peru, and sent as her commander on another exploration trip to the north. Ezeta was sent to Manila at the breaking out of the war with England. Perez, the countryman of Father Serra, who had been Ezeta's second in command, died on the voyage to San Blas. When the news of his death reached Monterey the next year, "they gave him all honor with a solemn mass and many prayers in the

Mission of San Carlos, as the discoverer of the ports of San Diego and Monterey.”

While Bodega and Ezeta were exploring the northern



OLD SPANISH BELLS, SAN GABRIEL

coasts, Anza had been gathering a colony in Sinaloa and Sonora, to be planted on the shores of San Francisco Bay. On his return from California in 1774, Bucareli rewarded

his expedition with the grade of Lieutenant-Colonel and gave him an ample commission to enroll settlers and soldiers and found a colony in California. As this was the first planted there, it is well to describe the methods for colonization of the Spanish authorities in the eighteenth century. Government colonization had been practiced before by England, France and Holland in America. It is interesting to compare the methods of Bucareli with those of Colbert in Canada, of Cromwell in the West Indies, and of the ministers of George III. twelve years later in Australia.

The Californian project was first discussed by the State Council in Mexico, where the opinion of experts familiar with the new country and its communications was asked. It was next referred to the Home Government for approval as to general principle, and the expenses to be incurred. The execution was then placed entirely in the hands of Anza as best acquainted with the route to the new lands. "His Excellency in Council ordered Colonel Anza to enlist twenty married men with families, from the provinces of Sonora and Sinaloa, and to draw ten married soldiers and a lieutenant from the posts of Sonora. They were to occupy the port of San Francisco and establish a fortified post there, and also two missions for the natives near the bay." To better test the worth of the land, he was further to recruit whatever families he could, to go as settlers, with the promise of rations for all their members for five years, and pay for the working men from the treasury for the first two. All were to be furnished with free clothing and transportation at the cost of the King, and Colonel Anza was authorized to draw on the royal treasury for all the funds he might need. He was to conduct the colony in person to Monterey, as commander with military authority.

"The Colonel provided in the capital the needed arms, equipment and clothing for the soldiers and settlers and their families, sending them by mule train to Sinaloa.



He went there with a commissary and began his enlistment of soldiers and settlers as soon as he arrived. Those enrolled he clothed from head to foot, women as well as men, and the children, big and little. He gave arms to the soldiers and furnished all with beasts to carry them, and rations for their support, and gave pay for the soldiers and settlers from the day of their enlistment, and so they went on to the town of Horcasitas in Sonora, where they were all to meet as a starting place."

The pay allowed soldiers was a dollar daily; that of settlers the same as landsmen on the government vessels, eight dollars monthly. The whole colony numbered two hundred, so the expense was large. Palou states that the average cost for each family was eight hundred dollars, exclusive of soldiers' pay. Anza further purchased cattle, mules and horses at the government's expense, as well for transport as for use of the settlers in California. All were gathered at Horcasitas by September, 1775, about a year after Anza's commission was issued in Mexico. The attention given to clothing the women and children and the easy rate of progress adopted on their account show a human kindness very different from current legends of Spanish methods.

The colony left Horcasitas on the twenty-ninth of September, and crossed the desert and the Gila without accident. At the Colorado the Yuma chief, Palma, received them with hospitality. Anza presented him with a cloak and a silver-headed baton of office, and gave the same to the chief of another tribe. Two Franciscans remained among them without any companion, except a Californian Christian. The soldiers built a cottage for the friars and left them some provisions. A third Franciscan, Font, went with the colonists.

They reached San Gabriel in the historic year 1776, and there met bad news. The Indians at San Diego had just burned the mission and killed one of its priests and two others. Rivera was at San Gabriel with soldiers on his

way to the scene of the outbreak. Anza at once put himself at his disposal to help restore peace. The colonists were left at San Gabriel, while the two officers with forty soldiers went to San Diego to see what should be done there.

They found no Indians in arms, but learned the particulars of the outrage, which was almost the first and only serious act of Indian hostility in the Spanish history of California. The mission had been removed to about five miles from the Presidio, for the sake of better land and freer intercourse with the natives. The establishment consisted only of a few cabins of poles, thatched with reeds and surrounded with a stockade. The church was the same as the other huts. The friars, Fathers Jayme and Fuster, were content with their scanty accommodations, which seemed the models of Franciscan cells. The crops had begun to give some return, and sixty natives had been baptized on the third of October. Everything seemed full of promise to the friars, who, after five years of work, saw the Indians showing a movement towards conversion. The fickle passions of the savages broke out without any apparent cause. Two natives, who had been received as converts, slipped away after the baptisms on the third of October, and went round the rancherias urging their people to kill the strangers who were bringing in new ways of life. A conspiracy was got up without suspicion being awakened. Twenty Christian families lived in their huts near the mission fence, and within it besides the two priests were four soldiers, a smith and a carpenter. Two boys, relatives of the lieutenant of the Presidio, and the post carpenter were stopping there as visitors. No watch was kept, as no idea of danger entered the minds of either fathers or soldiers. About midnight some hundreds of savages with bows and clubs came silently from several rancherias. They put guards over the huts of the Christian natives, and threatened to kill any who attempted to warn the white men of their danger. The others broke

through the fence and began sacking the church. The inmates of the mission were so soundly asleep that the breaking of the furniture in the church did not awaken them. The savages then set fire to the residences. The Spaniards woke, uncertain of what was the matter. The smith was the first to rush out of his room, and he was at once killed by a volley of arrows. The carpenter seized his gun and shot one of the assailants, and then ran to the soldiers' cabin, which was also on fire. The visitor from the Presidio, Ursulino, was ill, but he managed to reach the guardhouse, though grievously wounded in the attempt. Father Fuster and the two boys did the same. The soldiers got their guns and began to fire on the savages, though one was crippled by the first discharge of arrows.

Father Jayme awoke at the same time, but instead of taking refuge in the guardhouse, he walked towards the yelling savages, and tried to reason with them. He had only time to utter his usual greeting, "You should love God, children," when some warriors seized and dragged him away into the darkness. They tore off his clothes and pierced his body with arrows, after which they beat it out of human shape with clubs and stones. In the meantime the others kept pouring arrows on the burning guardhouse. Its defenders took refuge in an adobe kitchen, the only building not of wood in the enclosure. It was only walled on three sides and its walls were hardly the height of a man's head. The defenders brought cases and a cauldron from the burning huts and barricaded the fourth side, while arrows and other missiles were flying around them. They had to carry the box which contained the powder from the burning guardhouse under the same conditions. The soldiers fired steadily from their barricade, and the savages did not venture to rush on them, though they set fire to the branches which served as a roof to the kitchen. All the Spaniards were wounded by this time, but three of the soldiers were still able to load and

fire. The corporal was the best shot; the other two soldiers loaded and primed the flintlock muskets. Father Fuster sat on the powder case and protected it with his woolen habit from the falling sparks and burning branches of the roof. The corporal shot as many as he could aim at by the light of the flames, and when morning came, the assailants scattered to their rancherias badly frightened.

When they fled, the mission Indians came crying to explain how they had been held and to lament over the destruction done. Fuster sent one to the Presidio to ask help, and others to look for his colleague. The soldiers at the post had slept as soundly as the inmates of the mission, and neither the flames nor shots through the night had been noticed. It was learned later that a large body of savages had gone to attack the post, but came back when the flames broke out prematurely at the mission. The soldiers had no more thought of danger from the natives than the friars had.

No reproach, however, was made by Father Fuster. The natives found the body of his colleague in a water-course, so mangled that it could only be identified by the white skin. Father Fuster had trestles made, and on these the bodies of the slain were carried to the post and buried there. The wounded were treated by the friar. Ursulino, the carpenter, died in a few days, making the third victim of the outbreak. "It may be believed piously he went to God," Palou adds. "He gave good sign of his disposition, for when first wounded, he only said, 'God forgive you, Indian that hast slain me,' and he kept the same disposition to his death, leaving his back pay, which was considerable, by will to the Indians of San Diego mission in the absence of any heirs he was bound to remember."

The spirit of the Spanish friars is illustrated by this remark of Palou, and by his account of the feelings excited among them by the death of their colleague. "None of us doubt but he joyfully shed his innocent blood

to water that vineyard in which he had toiled with much sweat, nor that such an irrigation will give ripe fruit in converting the rest of the heathens. In Monterey the news of the outbreak came on the thirteenth of December, and the next day we honored the dead father with fasting and a chanted mass, though in the judgment of the six of us who made that function there was no need to pray to God for him, but better reason to ask him to pray to God for us. Nevertheless, lest by chance his soul might need our prayers, each of us missionaries kept on saying our twenty masses for his soul's repose."

As soon as the burial services were over, a messenger was sent to the post commander. Lieutenant Ortega was away at San Juan Capistrano when it occurred. After many delays the Governor had allowed Father Serra to begin that mission. Fathers Lasuen and Amurrio were at work on it when the murders occurred. Ortega with some soldiers was helping them, and even the gentiles were giving hand in putting up the buildings and corral. On getting the news, Ortega at once started for San Diego with his soldiers. He advised the priests and workmen to follow him, and they did so. At San Diego with his fourteen men he took prompt action to awe the hostiles. He visited most of the rancherias and arrested several suspected of a share in the outrage, both heathens and Christians. He brought these to the Presidio and tried their cases. Some he acquitted, others were whipped and sent away, and some were locked up in the guardhouse for further investigation and punishment. Small as was the number of soldiers, Ortega's energy cowed the malcontents, who were only a small faction after all, though they had excited a large number for a day or two. It was not until he had thus removed immediate danger that the lieutenant sent the news of the outbreak to the Governor at Monterey.

The tidings reached Rivera and Serra on the thirteenth of December. Both were much affected. Serra at once

wrote to the college and inclosed Father Fuster's letter to himself, giving the particulars. His letter at the same time to the Viceroy merits to be given in Palou's words:

"He wrote to his Excellency what had happened and told him that the religious of these missions were not disheartened thereby. They were rather encouraged by the martyrdom of their brother, which they envied, and they only regretted the consequence likely to come of this cruel deed in the way of punishment for the Indians, for such would doubtless be given to the sharers in the said revolt. They also feared there might be delay in rebuilding the burned mission in its own place, and that the new mission of Capistrano might be hindered. Still he (Serra) hoped from the well-known mercy and zeal for the Catholic Faith of his Excellency that he would show pity to the Indians of San Diego who had shared in the slaying of the late father. He hoped his Excellency would order the more strictly to rebuild the ruined mission and to build up that of San Juan Capistrano. As for protection against like occurrences in the future, some increase in the mission guards would be all needed. The Indians would restrain themselves when they saw a force present to meet their attacks, and so the desired object of their conversion and settlement would go on well."

This letter has much resemblance to the plea of Las Casas two centuries earlier, for mercy to the murderers of his friend Luis Cancer. "It is a divine and most fitting law that some who serve the Gospel should die for the Gospel, as by their precious death they may do more to convert unbelievers than they could by earthly toil and sweat. So we trust in God that Fray Luis Cancer, who was God's good servant, does and will help in converting his slayers. God, our Lord, will look on them with pity, for blessed Brother Luis' sake, since they know not what they do, and thought they were killing enemies, not friars and servants of God. This is the true divine

way and true mode of preaching the Gospel and converting souls, that God himself has established and blessed."

Rivera did not share the confidence of Father Serra, and indeed seemed to have quite lost his head in the fear of a general Indian war. He rode in hot haste from Monterey on getting Ortega's dispatches, but when he reached San Diego he did nothing but write to the Viceroy for twenty-five more men. He had already been joined by Colonel Anza with twenty veterans from San Gabriel, and found the rioters completely cowed by Ortega's prompt action. Anza advised a military demonstration with the whole force of sixty among the suspected rancherias, and the arrest of the ringleaders not already taken; but Rivera confined himself to sending a small squad to threaten one village. He forbade the rebuilding of the ruined mission or any attempt to complete that of Capistrano, indefinitely, and tried to persuade Anza to suspend the colony in the north, which he had to found. The latter officer refused, and, finding it impossible to make Rivera take any action, went on with the colonists to Monterey, after calling on the Governor to follow and carry out Bucareli's instructions.

Rivera lingered at San Diego for a couple of months, and though he did nothing else, managed to get himself involved in a church interdict, without any intelligible motive and as much to the astonishment of the friars as his own. Palou tells the story with an evident feeling of weariness at the pig-headed obstinacy of the *Senor Gobernador*.

"One of the mission Indians who had joined in the outbreak, being apparently repentant, took sanctuary in the house at the Presidio, where mass used to be said. Father Vicente (Fuster) notified the *Senor Gobernador*, and told him what had to be done in such cases. The Governor said it was well, and sent an official notice to the said Father to surrender the Indian Carlos, as his offence was such that he had no right to sanctuary, and he further said

that the room where mass was said could not be counted a church, but only a private building. For these reasons, he required the priest to deliver him up within so many hours, or he would take him from the church by force.

"Father Vicente consulted the other fathers and, with their concurrence told the Governor that they could not surrender the man without direct order from their superior, to whom alone belonged the right to decide the points mentioned, and that if his Honor attempted to take him by force meanwhile he would incur excommunication. He quoted at the same time the authorities for his action. The Governor no sooner got this answer than he called a guard, and with sword on his side, the baton of office in one hand and a lighted candle in the other, entered the church himself, laid hold of the poor convert in the sacred place and took him out to the guard, who put him in chains. Father Vicente, as administrator, protested against the violence, and notified the Senor Governor and those with him that they were excommunicated. The Senor Governor answered him: 'Protest away, your reverence, for there goes the protest before you.' And he pointed to the prisoner that the soldiers were marching off."

The captain had reason to wish he had not made so strenuous an exercise of authority in a matter of canon law. "The next feast day Father Lasuen had to say mass, and when all the people were gathered, he turned to them and said: 'Gentlemen, I am about to say mass in this church, for though you may have heard it said it is not a church, I declare it is one, and have always said so. Then those who arrested the Indian within it are under ban of the Church and may not assist at mass while so. If any of them be here, let him depart.' " The Governor and others had to leave the building before Father Lasuen would celebrate.

To understand the nature of Rivera's action in this case, the general law of "Sanctuary" in Spanish coun-



tries at the time needs to be stated. Any debtor or person suspected of crime was entitled to postpone arrest if he could enter a church. The civil law forbade the police or magistrates from laying hands on persons in a church without the authority of its clerical administrator. The form was strictly prescribed, and both the civil and ecclesiastical authorities were required by State and Church laws to carry it out. The magistrate or police officer had to give the parish priest a sworn statement of the charge, before the latter could permit a person to be removed from a church by force. The value of protection against arbitrary police authority by the Right of Sanctuary was highly valued, especially by the poorer classes. It had existed generally through Europe at an earlier period, and the English legislation exempting debtors from arrest on Sundays and making "brawling in church" a legal misdemeanor is a relic of the old practice.

The right of sanctuary had already been recognized several times at San Diego before Rivera's crazy attempt to override it. The deserters brought back to their duty by Father Jayme took refuge in the church until their pardon was published by Fages. The post sergeant a little later, before arresting an Indian culprit there, had complied with the usual formality of a sworn statement. It was all that Rivera was asked to do by Father Fuster, and his refusal, especially coupled with the formality imagined by himself of carrying a lighted candle as a substitute for a statement, indicates only a hopelessly confused state of mind on the Governor's part. The action of Lasuen was required of him by church law. Excommunication was the penalty attached to violation of sanctuary by any civil authority, no matter how high in rank. The incident illustrates both the distinction between Church and State laws in Catholic countries like Spain and the nature of the co-operation between them in ordinary circumstances.

Rivera did not dispute the right of Father Lasuen to exclude him from mass, but wrote to the Franciscan President to get the ban removed, on the ground that the temporary chapel was not really a church. He seemed hopelessly bewildered what to do in this as in his dealing with the Indians. At length he went back to Monterey, and on the road involved himself in a personal quarrel of equally unintelligible kind with Colonel Anza. He refused at first to receive the dispatch sent him by Anza, and then recalled the courier and took it, at the same time sending back an order prohibiting the foundation of any post or mission at San Francisco. Anza was already on his way to Mexico and met Rivera a day or two later. The latter did not even speak, but passed with a formal salute. He sent an apology for his conduct a little later, but Anza declined to hold further communication with the surly Governor.

Rivera got to Monterey, sent orders thence to Moraga, Anza's lieutenant, to do nothing at San Francisco, and then returned to San Diego. Serra came down in the fall, on the packet, and its captain, Choquet, offered the services of his sailors and his own to rebuild the mission. The Governor gave permission, but when the work had gone on two weeks he suddenly ordered it stopped. Captain Choquet was as indignant as Anza had been, and charged Rivera to his face with cowardice, but he had to yield to his orders. Both Anza and he reported Rivera's strange behavior to the Viceroy on their return.

Bucareli had meantime written strict orders to restore the missions and develop that of San Francisco, which he supposed already founded by Anza. The Viceroy also sent copies of his order to Father Serra to prevent further dilatoriness on Rivera's part. The Governor allowed San Diego to be restored and Capistrano to be finished, and gave guards for each. He then hurried to Monterey to recall his orders to Moraga, against founding the mission at San Francisco. He had the questionable satisfaction of finding that Moraga had paid no attention to his pro-

hibition, and that the mission was already established as ordered by the Viceroy. Rivera expressed his satisfaction with the action of Moraga, which saved himself from awkward explanations to the Viceroy. The latter, after Choquet's report was received, decided that Rivera was hardly fit for his duties, and transferred him to Loretto as Governor of the peninsula. The officer in command there, Major Neve, was sent to Monterey with authority as superior officer over the whole of California. The change was effected early in the following year.

Bucareli's decision on the Indian prisoners concerned in the outbreak accorded with Serra's merciful recommendations. "I have ordered the Governor," thus the Viceroy wrote to the mission President, "to publish a full pardon to all the natives concerned in the revolt, as such a course will lead to quieting their minds, and the other ends mentioned by your reverence." Rivera had suggested deportation of all already convicted, thirteen in number, to San Blas. They were paraded on receipt of Bucareli's orders, reprimanded for their past crimes, warned that further outrages would be punished, and then set free. The transactions in San Diego are a curious comment on the assertion of Lecky, the English historian, that "blind folly, ignoble selfishness, crushing tyranny and hideous cruelty mark every page of the history of the domination of Spain."

## CHAPTER VI

### THE FOUNDATION OF SAN FRANCISCO

Rivera's timidity lost him the honor of being the founder of San Francisco. The task had been intended for him by Bucareli at the time of his appointment. The Viceroy then, with far-seeing wisdom, urged on the Governor special care in founding new settlements, "since those little establishments may one day become great cities." The next year, when a colony on San Francisco Bay had been decided on, Colonel Anza, its organizer, was directed to choose its location with the help and under the authority of Rivera. The preliminaries for the task were all carried out by Anza. It only remained for Rivera to preside at the beginning of the first European colony in California. He threw away the opportunity by his vacillation, and also, in a measure, deprived Anza of the share in it which he had justly earned.

The colony that Anza brought across the desert numbered over two hundred, thirty soldiers, all married men, and the others, settlers with their families. Anza led them through in safety and without trouble with the natives on the road. He showed both prudence and humanity in his command. The immigrants were divided into parties when crossing the sandy deserts, that the scanty wells might not be exhausted too quickly. Halts of three or four days were at times made to rest the wearied women and children. Crossing the Gorgonio Pass in winter, with heavy snow storms, was a hard task for immigrants from the hot lands of Sinaloa, but so well did Anza provide for their shelter, that no death occurred among the party, though eight births on the road added as many new members to the first Spanish colony. About three hundred cattle were driven along

with the settlers. They left Tubac on the twenty-third of October and reached San Gabriel on the fourth of January in the historic year of 1776, just six months before the first Fourth of July.



JUAN BAUTISTA ANZA

Colonel Anza spent over a month with Rivera at San Diego on account of the outbreak, and it was not till the middle of February that he got back to San Gabriel. He left twelve men there for the protection of the mission,

and took the colonists on to Monterey. They reached it after eighteen days' march over muddy trails and across swollen streams. Anza was taken ill, and had to spend a week in bed at the Carmel Mission, but, as soon as he was able to ride, he started to finish his task and fix a site for the post and mission of San Francisco. With Lieutenant Moraga and ten men he reached Mountain Lake in four days and camped on its shore. The next day he visited Fort Point, "where no one had been before," and at once fixed on the adjoining flat as the proper site for the post. The selection made, the whole party explored the shores of the bay as far as the Sacramento River, or, as it was then called, the San Francisco. It was high water, and could not be crossed. Anza skirted its banks for some leagues and then returned to Monterey through the Mount Diablo Range. Only sixteen days were spent on the whole trip from Fort Point.

At Monterey Anza found no news from Rivera, but learned that the Governor had desired the colonists to stay there for the rest of the year. The Viceroy's orders he entirely ignored. Anza was deeply mortified, but, as he did not care to begin a quarrel, he gave charge of the colony to his lieutenant, and left himself for Sonora on the fourteenth of April, after an affectionate parting with those he had conducted across the desert, which he described as the saddest incident of the journey. On his journey back he met Rivera, but the latter passed him without speaking. He returned moodily to Monterey, whence he sent some letters with their covers broken to Father Serra, and asked him to remove the interdict on himself. He added that the opening of the letters was accidental, and offered to take oath that he had not read their contents. Serra courteously assured him his word was sufficient for that purpose, but told him that he could not remove the interdict until the Indian illegally taken from sanctuary was restored to the place whence he had been taken.

Rivera again left for San Diego without apparent object. He overtook Anza at San Gabriel and tried to apologize for his former rudeness, but the Colonel declined to receive his communication. The Governor stayed in bewildered inactivity at San Diego in seeming forgetfulness of the Viceroy's orders. He wrote, indeed, to Moraga that he might build a fort at the site chosen by Anza, but not any mission or colony. Moraga concluded that the Governor's mind was deranged and decided to carry out the Viceroy's orders on his own responsibility.

The colonists detained at Monterey were anxious to get settled in their own homes, and the Franciscans were equally desirous of beginning the mission sanctioned by Bucareli. The transports from San Blas reached Monterey in June with supplies for the San Francisco post, which it was supposed had already been established. Moraga waited no longer. He took twenty families of soldiers and settlers with two hundred cattle and a train of packmules and started for San Francisco on the seventeenth of June. The commander of the San Carlos promised to follow with the supplies as soon as he had finished unloading the articles destined for Monterey. Serra authorized Fathers Palou and Cambon to accompany Moraga and establish a mission near the bay. The authority of Rivera was quietly ignored by all parties.

The settlers and soldiers reached the present site of San Francisco on the twenty-seventh of June, and camped beside the "Laguna de los Dolores." It was at the site known in American times as the Willows, near Mission Bay. While waiting the coming of the San Carlos, all lived in tents and employed themselves in finding timber for their future homes and gathering the plentiful wild strawberries. Natives came freely to visit them and offer mussels and seeds. They were given beads and various articles of food in return, which they enjoyed much, though they could not be induced to drink milk. Many of

the San Francisco Indians had beards, and they seemed a strong race. The men, like other Californians, went naked, but used to plaster their bodies with mud as a protection from the cold, and a few of them had cloaks of the skin of seals or of pelican feathers. The women wore skirts of plaited tule, and very few of them were possessors of skin garments of any kind. The personal beauty of both sexes was not improved by a custom of pulling out the hair of the eyebrows. They carried bows and arrows, and killed ducks and other game with them, but their chief food was seeds, which the women pounded in stone mortars and made into cakes. The Spaniards found them not bad to eat. The relations between the two races were quite friendly.

The San Carlos was very long coming. She left Monterey towards the end of June with supplies for the presidio, the effects of the colonists and tools and furniture for the mission. On getting to sea, head winds drove her back to near San Diego, and then southerly winds outside carried her beyond Cape Mendocino. There she got near the coast and worked slowly down to the Golden Gate, which she entered on the eighteenth of August, more than seven weeks after leaving Monterey. In the meantime Moraga had chosen a site for the settlement. He found two good springs near the "white knoll" at the entrance of the Golden Gate and a good level space in view of the port and its entrance. It was the site of the existing Presidio, though the "white knoll," like the lagoon of Dolores, has passed away. The bulk of the settlers moved there in July and put up huts of reeds as a temporary shelter. The men then worked collecting wood for more substantial houses until the vessel arrived.

"The Senor Lieutenant, seeing that he had enough of men, and that from the natives there was no danger, decided that the two friars had better prepare their mission at the lagoon. He gave them six soldiers and a settler to help in cutting wood for the buildings. Their own three



Indians and two Mexicans shared the task." Rivera's instructions were quite unheeded by Lieutenant Moraga.

The Indians suddenly disappeared on the twelfth of August. War was a constant feature of primitive savage life in California. Some rancherias from San Mateo came and burned a village within a league of the mission lagoon, and the neighboring tribes were so scared that most of them paddled across the bay on rafts of tules to what is now Marin County. The soldiers promised to protect them against their enemies, but their terror was too great to let them stay. Five days later the San Carlos arrived. The officers and most of the sailors landed to help in building the fort and stockade. The last was ninety-three varas square, and within it were the church, storehouse and barracks, with houses of poles and clay for the soldiers and settlers. When these were fairly advanced, the captain of the San Carlos sent half a dozen of sailors to help the mission constructions. Within less than a month the Presidio was completed, and on the seventeenth of September, the Feast of the Stigmata of St. Francis, the official foundation of San Francisco as a Spanish town was celebrated. A solemn high mass was sung by the priests, and when it was ended the royal standard was run up, and note taken in due form that the Presidio of San Francisco was henceforth a part of the domain of King Charles III. of Spain and the Indies. Then all returned to the church and sang a Te Deum, while the bells pealed and repeated volleys fired by every cannon and musket on shore, to which the ship answered with her guns. The function over, the Commandant invited all the people to dine with him, putting forth all the splendor that the place allowed. "He made up whatever was lacking by his kindly courtesy, with which everyone was pleased, and showed it by the joy and gladness with which they all finished that same day."

The mission foundation was a separate celebration, and came three weeks later. Meantime Moraga and

Quiros, the commander of the packet, started to explore the bay and the rivers falling into it. Moraga went by land to the south end, near Alviso and thence crossed the mountains to the San Joaquin Valley. He found a good pass and reached the river near Lathrop. His party traveled three days rapidly along its banks upwards, and discovered a great plain as level as the sea, "with horizon to all four winds." The natives were as friendly as those of the coast, and Moraga noted the population was less the further he went up the river. He found a ford and crossed to the other bank, probably in what is now Stanislaus County. His party made a day's journey on the other side and saw the trees which mark the course of the Stanislaus, but having no compass they concluded it better to return than risk losing themselves in the prairie. They got back to San Francisco after fourteen days' absence.

Captain Quiros in his launch, with Father Cambon in company, crossed to the mouth of the San Joaquin, but not finding Moraga there, and provisions being short, he came back within a week. By way of compensation he visited the north shores, examined Richardson's estuary and assured himself that it had no communication with the port of Bodega. Moraga and Quiros both were back on the seventh of October, and on the eighth of that month the Franciscans held the mission foundation. The officers of the packet came with all their crew, except those needed as guards, and likewise the military commandant, with all the soldiers and settlers, leaving at the post only the sentries. High mass was sung, and the picture of "our Seraphic Father, St. Francis, Protector of this Port, Presidio and Mission," was carried in procession. The Franciscans invited everyone to dine, as the commandant had, "killing two beeves to regale them all, and at evening the soldiers went to their Presidio and the sailors to their ship after a joyful day for all." Only the natives failed to share in the joy of the day, as Palou regretfully adds.

They did not come back for several weeks later from their refuge beyond the bay.

Four of the sailors volunteered to stay at the mission as laborers on the terms offered by the Viceroy. This made six Mexicans, besides the six soldiers and three Indians to begin work. They finished the buildings and prepared land to seed and an irrigation ditch to bring water to the garden and houses. The *San Carlos* sailed on the second of October and mission and presidio were left to work out their destiny in San Francisco. The friars kept grateful memory of the services rendered. "The mission having obtained, besides the presence of the gentlemen at its celebration, the help of several sailors in building, and of the carpenter, who made doors for the church and house, and a table with two lockers under it for an altar, not to speak of the captain's donation for charity of a canoe and fishing net." The readiness of the sailors and workmen of the ships to help in mission work was often shown. At San Diego Choquet and his crew put in two weeks' work rebuilding the burned mission. It indicates the popular sentiment towards the friars among the Spanish and Mexican population.

The natives did not show themselves again for a couple of months after the first crop had been planted. They then came in small parties, and at first were friendly. Their good temper soon changed. They began to pilfer small articles, and some made threatening demonstrations. One tried to kiss a soldier's wife, another used a corporal's house as a target for his arrows, and another threatened to do the same by one of the Christian Indians. The post corporal thought it time to check these proceedings and when a few days later the assailant came with some companions to visit he was arrested and got a dozen lashes in the guardhouse. He yelled loudly, and a couple of his friends shot arrows at the soldiers. The soldiers scared them off with a couple of shots in the air. The next day the sergeant of the Presidio went with some men to

arrest the shooters and "give them a whipping to put fear into them." He found them among a party which showed fight. They wounded a horse and a settler, and the latter shot an Indian dead. His comrades continued to discharge arrows till the sergeant again fired and wounded another. "The Indians then asked peace, in their usual fashion, by laying down their bows and arrows. The sergeant did the same with his gun. The soldiers arrested the first two offenders. The sergeant charged them with having shot arrows at the mission house, ordered them a whipping and intimated by signs that they would be killed if they did it again. He bade them gather up all their stuff and that of their comrades, and take it away and told them to do no mischief and they could stay friends. This occurrence scared them so that for three months they did not show themselves either at the mission or fort. Then one or other began to come to the mission and little by little they yielded to persuasion, so that on St. John's day, 1777, the first three were christened, who were all grown people and did not remain longer with the other heathens."

Petty acts of hostility, like the foregoing, occurred at the beginning of most missions. At San Antonio, the year before, some savages rushed into the mission inclosure and wounded a native convert and some cows. At San Luis, in 1777, some hostiles came at night and set fire to the storehouse with a burning arrow, after which they slipped away in the darkness. At Santa Clara "the gentiles professed peace, but showed themselves very greedy and great rogues. A little after the mission was founded, they killed some cattle belonging to the soldiers." The action taken in these cases was much the same as at San Francisco. At San Antonio "the corporal found where the two assailants had gone, followed them and caught both in a large rancharia. He marched them to the mission, gave them a whipping, and then locked them up till the lieutenant should pass on their case. The lieutenant

ordered them to be released after another flogging, and the corporal, seeing everything quiet, went back to Monterey." At San Luis "the honorable captain ordered the suspension of new foundations when he heard the news, and sent the lieutenant to see what the danger was." The lieutenant found that the incendiaries were from a rancheria ten leagues away, and their only intention to get even with some Indians attached to the mission. He managed to catch two of the leaders and sent them prisoners to Monterey.

At Santa Clara, when the cattle were stolen, the lieutenant set out with a party and found a rancheria where beef was roasting at daybreak. The savages scattered through the trees and shot arrows at the soldiers who "had to kill three of them. They took some ring-leaders and flogged them, but they were not cured of stealing, especially from the grain fields." The most serious of all the disturbances was that at San Diego. It is noticeable that neither the friars nor the mission soldiers showed alarm at these disturbances, which were treated as police offences would be in civilized land. Their indifference to risks was in strong contrast to the nervous fears of Rivera or even the caution of Fages.

The foundation of San Juan Capistrano was resumed two weeks after the dedication of San Francisco Mission. Eleven soldiers were sent as an escort, and Father Mugar-tegui, Serra's companion on his return from Mexico, was named as first administrator, with Father Amurro as his assistant. The natives welcomed the return of the friars. The cross which had been set up the year before was standing, and the buried bells were dug up intact. Father Serra came from San Diego and said the first mass on All Saints Day. There were many Indians present. Four were baptized before the end of the year and forty during the next. Not all, however, were equally well-disposed. Serra came near sharing the fate of Father Jayme during the building of Capistrano. He had gone to San Gabriel

for some cattle, and was returning ahead of them with only two companions, when a band of strange Indians surrounded them with cries and threatening demonstrations. The coolness of Serra checked the savages, and after some parley they accepted gifts of glass beads and laid down their bows. Serra blessed them, and they parted in peace, though he confessed that for some moments he had fully expected a death blow. The risks which the first Franciscans had to face among the Californian savages were quite real.

The restoration of San Diego followed soon after. The Governor, on receiving the orders of Bucareli, sent a dozen soldiers to help the work. The clemency shown to the Indians implicated in the murder of Jayme had a good effect. Several rancherias came to ask baptism and settled down as residents of the mission. Cultivation was resumed, but the amount of land available was not large, and many converts continued to live in their old villages. There were nearly a dozen of these detached settlements, or visiting stations, a few years later in connection with San Diego. The priests visited each at intervals and spent some days teaching its people, who used to come also on festivals to the central mission, and brought their children there for baptism. It was the most that could be done under the circumstances, but moral training was not developed as fully in the "visits" as in the population settled around the church.

It was mainly for that reason that the Franciscans paid so much attention to tillage. It gave food to support the outsiders when they came for instruction, and it also trained the settled converts to regular habits of work. The San Diego Indians, for many years, were considered more fickle and dangerous than the tribes elsewhere. Rumors of plots among them were common, and most of them, even after baptism, preferred to dwell in their own fashion and disliked settled work. About eighteen months after the restoration of the mission, four rancherias

plotted to destroy it again. Ortega sent a message to warn them. A chief told him to bring on his soldiers, and they would kill them all. The lieutenant promptly went out and, after a sharp skirmish, captured the four chiefs and a quantity of arms. He felt a lesson was needed, and after a military trial, sentenced the four to execution and carried out the sentence. The priests were not consulted on this occasion. Ortega simply asked them to attend the prisoners and prepare them for death. "If they are not baptized by Saturday, they will have to die, and if they are, they have to die likewise." was his terse message. The contrast is marked between Ortega's decision and Rivera's vacillation. This was the first execution in California, and it was carried out in a form that made it specially impressive. The chiefs were tried for plotting murder a second time, and Ortega gave sentence. "Considering it needed for the service of God, the King and the public, I condemn them to execution by shooting on the eleventh of the month at nine o'clock. The soldiers are to be present under arms and also the Christians of the mission, that they may be warned to do well." The Franciscans asked in vain for a commutation of the sentence which was carried out by Ortega entirely on his own responsibility as a military officer. It secured peace at San Diego for many years.

Rivera left San Diego before its mission was restored, and found that of San Francisco already founded, in defiance of his own orders. He made no comment, but took Moraga with him on a trip to the rivers, and promised to found the Santa Clara mission himself immediately. The spirit of vacillation continued to mark his action, and he postponed the foundation on news of a petty incident at San Luis Obispo. It was not till the end of the year that he sent orders to Moraga to begin the Santa Clara Mission.

Moraga and Father Pena, with nine soldiers and their families, came to the site chosen near the Guadalupe

stream on the ninth of January, 1777. The valley had been till then known as the "Plain of San Bernardino." It now got the name of St. Clare, the fellow worker of St. Francis of Assisi. Palou tells the proceedings:

"Having found, about three leagues from the bay, a stream with good water supply, near the surface of the ground, from which a large tract could be easily irrigated, they there laid out the settlement and set up in it first of all the standard of Holy Cross. They built a hut of brush to serve as a temporary chapel, and in it Father Pena said the first mass, the twelfth of said month of January. Then they laid out a square of sixty varas on each side. Two sides were for the church, the priest's house and the mission buildings, the other two for the guardhouse, storeroom and the houses of the nine soldiers. To these they all set hand forthwith, and the lieutenant sent word to Father Murguia, who came with the belongings of the mission from Carmel and arrived on the twenty-first, whereon the lieutenant retired to his presidio."

The Indians around "came from all sides for the sake of what was given them to eat, but it was seen from the first that they were greedy and thievish." The soldiers' patience gave out when the visitors carried off a couple of the cows, and word was sent to Lieutenant Moraga. He came down promptly, and on his way found a ranche-ria roasting beef at daybreak. He arrested some of the Indians, but the others showed fight and three were killed in the skirmish. Moraga took the chief to the mission and there gave him public whipping, but the native "propensity to stealing continued, nevertheless, especially from the planted fields. In May an epidemic broke out among the natives, of which many children died, and the fathers were able to christen about fifty, who were the first Christians, and with this the mission began its course."

The foundation of Santa Clara was Rivera's last act as Governor in California. The next month Colonel Neve



came to Monterey and transferred him to the peninsula as Governor there. At the same time Monterey was made the official capital of all California, and Loretto became subordinate to its jurisdiction. Though a fair subordinate, Rivera showed himself unfit for the responsibilities of command, but otherwise had merited little blame in his administration, which only lasted two years.

## CHAPTER VII

### GOVERNOR NEVE

The foundation of Santa Clara Mission was followed by no other for several years. Serra had been struggling with the timidity of Rivera for two years to get the establishments ordered by Galvez and Bucareli along the Santa Barbara coast, the most populous in California. He looked with hope on the coming of Governor Neve, for that end, but was doomed to disappointment. The new Governor met him at San Diego and spoke in very friendly language. He approved highly the methods used in founding the last four missions, and wrote so in his official dispatches to Bucareli. A few months later he sent others urging the need of a post and three missions along the Santa Barbara Channel, but meantime he took no steps to begin the latter, as he was authorized to do by existing orders of the Viceroy.

There were reasons for his delay not made known to the Franciscans. The Spanish ministry, under the influence of Galvez, had planned sweeping changes in the American colonies. The northern districts of Mexico, inhabited largely by "Indios bravos," or independent tribes, were detached from the Viceroy's authority and made a separate government under a "Commandant-General." California was included in the new department, though the naval station at San Blas remained under the Viceroy of Mexico and gave him a voice in the Californian administration. The new military province was formed by royal decree in the year of the American revolution, and was known to Neve when he reached Monterey as Governor under Bucareli's commission. He was a personal friend of the newly appointed Commandant-General, and desired to shape his own action in California

on his wishes rather than those of Bucareli. He gave no hint of this to the Franciscans, who only learned of the royal decrees eighteen months afterwards.

Command of the new department was given to General Theodore de Croix, a nephew of the last Viceroy and, like him, of French origin. The liberality of the Spanish Government in employing foreigners in the highest posts was remarkable. The General of the frontiers before de Croix had been Hugh O'Connor, O'Reilly was Governor of Louisiana, and the Italian Branciforte Viceroy of Mexico somewhat later. Neve had contracted friendship with de Croix in Mexico, and the relations between them were very close, as shown by their published correspondence.

During the first eighteen months Neve continued to report to Bucareli in the same form as his predecessors had done, and he gave no indication of departing from the policy already laid down in the Regulation of 1773 by that Viceroy. He and de Croix were meantime projecting sweeping changes in the administration of the province, and especially of its missions. The Home Ministry had also plans of their own on the latter subject, which were likewise kept secret. De Croix gave no hint of them to the Californian Franciscans, when announcing to Serra his own nomination a year after the foundation of Santa Clara. He wrote in kindly terms to the mission President, assured him of his anxiety to begin the channel missions with his aid, and ended by saying, "Your Reverence will find in me all you desire for the spread of our Holy Faith and the glory of Religion."

On another point, already decreed by Bucareli, the foundation of Spanish pueblos or towns in California, Neve was more prompt. He spent the first months of his term in inspecting the posts and choosing two sites for settlement by the colonists that Anza had brought. One was on the Portiuncula for Los Angeles, the other on the Guadalupe for San Jose. The latter he commissioned Moraga

to found. Nine married soldiers and five settlers of Anza's party were named as burgesses or *vecinos*—neighbors.

San Jose de Guadalupe, the first Spanish pueblo of California, was founded formally by Moraga on the twenty-ninth of November, 1777. It was adjoining the new mission of Santa Clara, and some objection was raised by the priests in charge of the latter, but overruled by Neve. The Governor said it was needful that the settlers should, from the first, be near a church, and as there were no secular clergy the friars must attend to their religious needs.

The first houses were about a mile from the center of the present city. The settlers were allowed ten dollars a month and rations, and each also was supplied as a loan with a mule, two horses, two cows, two plough oxen, two sheep and two goats, with seed and tools to work. The farming plots were of the dimensions needed to sow three bushels of corn. The families who accompanied made the whole original population of San Jose sixty-six persons. Palou's account tells that "Lieutenant Moraga gave them possession in the name of His Majesty, laying out the place for the houses and distributing to each his house lot (solar). He surveyed for each a tract of land enough to seed with three bushels of wheat and to raise beans and other vegetables. Then they put their hands to build their houses of poles and earth, and when these were finished they began every man to open and work his land for seeding the wheat and beans, and likewise to bring a supply of water from the said river Guadalupe, which has to irrigate the work by ditches. God grant the desired end be obtained and may it be for the greater glory of God and the increase of Christianity." The last pious prayer is Father Palou's, as he finishes his account of the foundation of the first town of new California.

The friars of Santa Clara took religious charge of the settlers of San Jose, and allowed them the free use of the

mission church, though as a general rule they preferred to keep their converts apart from Europeans. Neve appeared well disposed towards the missions at this time and promised to begin those on the channel at an early date. The trouble at San Diego, when Ortega executed the four Indians, came immediately after the foundation of San Jose, and gave apparent reason for Neve's delay. By the middle of the following year news of a very disquieting kind was received by Serra from the College of San Fernando. The Guardian wrote that through private letters from Spain he had learned the King's ministers were planning a radical change in the mission system, established then several generations in Mexico. By it the task of providing missionaries for Indian countries was given to special "colleges" of the Order. Each had its own organization, like an ordinary Franciscan province or custody, but its members were made up chiefly of volunteers from every part of the Spanish dominions. The Spanish Government now proposed that four new custodies or provinces should be formed by the Franciscan General in the territory of the Inner Provinces lately detached from Mexico. They were to be on the same model as the Franciscan custodies of Spain, and naturally would have to find members in their own districts in the same way. The impossibility of recruiting missionary priests from a population like California's, made up of a few hundred soldiers and settlers, seems to have been entirely overlooked by Galvez and his colleagues in their zeal for official uniformity.

It is hard to find any other motive for the proposed change, but at the time the passion among the politicians of many Catholic countries was strong for remodelling the ministrations of the Church on official regulations. Joseph II. of Austria was a conspicuous example, and earned from Frederick of Prussia the nickname of "the Sacristan." Galvez followed a like course of interference in Spain. The King ordered the establishment of

Franciscan custodies in the four districts of New Mexico, Chihuahua, California and Sonora. The measure was wholly impracticable, and was not put into execution, except to a limited extent in Sonora. The ministers of Charles continued to urge it on the Franciscan authorities up to the death of Galvez, when it was allowed to drop, after ten years' fruitless agitation.

Neve about the same time showed a marked disposition to pick quarrels with Father Serra. Before the founding of San Jose he had suggested that the missions, which had by this time a considerable amount of cattle and grain, should furnish the needed army supplies at fixed rates. Serra replied that the natives had the first claim, and among them "there were likely to be more mouths to fill than grain to fill them" for some years. The answer was in character with the quaint memorial to Bucareli, but it disgusted and irritated the dignity of Neve. He wrote of it to de Croix and added, gleefully, his own sharp retort on the aged friar. He showed his dislike to him in other ways, by forbidding the guards at the missions to escort the priests on their journeys, without special orders from himself. He also called on the Franciscans, by his own authority, to furnish detailed accounts, like those of military paymasters, of the returns and outlays of each mission. They had always sent yearly general statements to the Viceroy of the general progress, the accuracy of which was not questioned, but Neve demanded formal bookkeeping and balance sheets, which Serra had no means of making out. He and his priests were not trained bookkeepers, and had none available as help, and their time was fully occupied with teaching and training the natives. The financial returns demanded by Neve were, besides, quite useless, as there was almost no money in California at the time. Mission property was exempt from public taxes by Spanish law, and any sales of produce could only be made to the military officials, whose accounts were under inspection of the Governor. Neve used the demand for

accounts chiefly as a means to satisfy his ill-will towards Father Serra, who pleaded in vain his inability to furnish them and their uselessness if furnished.

The influence of Neve with the Commandant-General made his hostility to Father Serra much more serious than the petulance of Fages or the vacillation of Rivera. Shortly after his arrival in Monterey, de Croix commissioned him to prepare a new Regulation for the administration of California and its missions also, to replace the existing legislation of Bucareli's Council. Neve drew it up with much ability, but without any consultation with the friars on the requirements of their special work. They were not even told that any new legislation was contemplated until Neve's Regulation was proclaimed by royal order as the supreme law of California. He forwarded his code to de Croix privately, and the latter sent it with equal privacy to Galvez. The Spanish Council adopted the Regulation without change and with strong praise for its author, who received a military promotion in reward.

It was much in the spirit of the changes introduced by Galvez in Mexico some years before. The military were increased from eighty to two hundred, to be divided among four garrisons, each with a lieutenant and ensign. A new post at Santa Barbara was to be added to those existing—San Diego, Monterey and San Francisco. Five men and a corporal was the ordinary guard at each mission, but fourteen were allotted to two specially named. As only married men were to be enlisted, each presidio would be really a town under military rule. Supplies, if possible, were to be bought in California, either from the missions or the settlers, and any bought for the soldiers' use in Mexico were to be delivered them at market prices there, without the heavy commission for transport formerly charged. By way of compensation Neve reduced the pay of the soldiers from three hundred and sixty-five dollars a year to two hundred and seventeen, and the sergeants' in proportion. He raised that of the officers at

the same time, a lieutenant getting five hundred and fifty, instead of five hundred. The influence of French ideas of the time is noticeable in the increased difference in pay between officers and common soldiers.

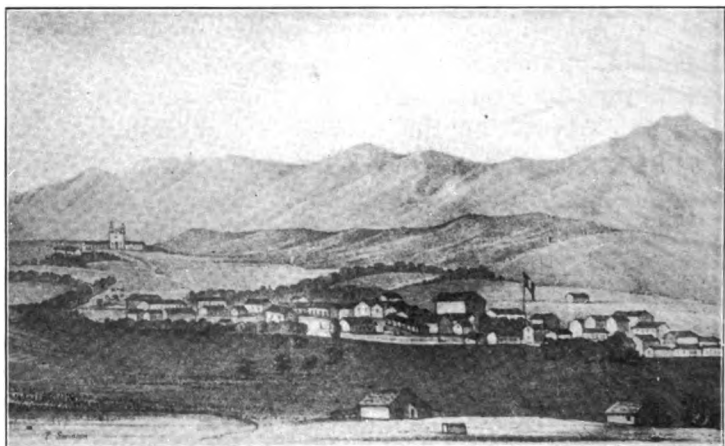
A military assistant to the Governor was further provided with the title of adjutant-general. Paymasters (*habilitados*) were to be elected by the soldiers of each presidial company to manage all public revenues, as well as the military accounts. In practice the duties of these officers were much complicated by the pay of the soldiers being mostly discharged in goods, which it needed much bookkeeping skill to keep correct account of. Most of the subsequent paymasters had considerable losses to make up from their own pay. It was like the system which Neve desired to impose on the priests of the missions. The election of the officials by the private soldiers, however, was more democratic than would be expected in a remote Spanish colony in the first year of the American Revolution.

The rules for European colonies were also liberal, and showed a spirit of home rule hardly to be expected at the time. Neve took strong interest in colonization, and showed it in his legislation. Villages were to be laid out by the Governors in suitable places for Spanish people to farm, and immigrants invited from Mexico at government cost. Each head of a family was given a house and farm lot free as long as he cultivated it, and further to have the right to keep fifty cattle on the common grazing lands of the *pueblo*. No taxes were to be levied during the first five years, and allowances for support might even be made for that time to settlers. They might also get loans of cattle, tools and seed. The only obligation laid on the assisted settlers was to sell their surplus produce to the paymasters at rates fixed by the Governor. Each citizen also had to keep a horse and arms for use in the public service in case of need.

Every *pueblo* was to be self-governed. Its neighbors



were, yearly, to elect an alcalde and two or more councilors (regidores) to administer the laws and regulate their police, schools and public works. They might levy taxes for these ends, form local regulations, and elect constables to enforce them. There was to be no land tax or rent. Four square leagues (about eighteen thousand acres) was to be set apart for every pueblo. When the house and farm lots were segregated, the remainder was for common use, either as pasturage or cultivation in common. The farms and house lots were the private property of the



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grantees on the sole condition of occupation. If deserted, they returned to the community, and might be granted to others by the competent authorities. They could not be sold or mortgaged, but passed by descent to the heirs of the original owners.

The resemblance of many provisions of Neve's regulations for pueblo lands to modern advanced ideas is remarkable. Their principles were, however, not new in Spanish America. Neve only made application of ideas fixed in Spanish legislation since the sixteenth century. Local self-government and no monopoly in land were re-

garded as essentials to prosperity in all the Spanish settlements since the time of Columbus. The system of Neve in California was the same as that of Legaspi in the Philippines in this regard.

With regard to the missions the new Regulation provided for the immediate foundation of three along the Channel and further recommended a second line of similar establishments about twenty leagues farther inland. Fages had visited the Tulare Valley in 1773, and reported the existence of good lands and a numerous population there. Neve in his report spoke highly of the value of the work of the Franciscans, and made no suggestion of changes in their methods. An important one, however, was slipped into the Regulation by the recommendation that only one priest need be sent to each of the inland missions, and that, as the existing friars at the others died off, only one need be retained also at each old foundation. That such a change should be made without any consultation with the friars, shows marked indifference to their judgment in a matter of vital importance to their work. Galvez had fully discussed the need of two priests at each mission with the Franciscan College authorities. It was a point on which they insisted as necessary for efficient work, and Galvez had approved their reasons. Neve changed the practice so fixed without even notice to the parties interested.

The Regulation of Neve was not known in California till it was published as law by royal proclamation in 1781. In this the procedure was entirely different from the former one drawn up by Bucareli's council eight years earlier. In the meantime both de Croix and Neve had been urging the Guardian of San Fernando College to send missionaries for the missions along the Santa Barbara Channel, without any hint of the proposed changes in the system existing. Neve in one of his letters to the Commandant excused what the latter thought over-condescension to the friars on the grounds "that he needed their help to found

missions, and they might refuse it if too exasperated." In another he complained of the "boundless and incredible pride" of Father Serra, and insinuated disbelief in either his truth or honesty.

A curious incident before the publication of the new regulations indicated the feelings of both Neve and de Croix towards the mission President, as well as the nature of the authority they claimed over the administrations of the church in purely religious matters. Serra, on his visit to Mexico, had applied to the Holy See for faculties to give confirmation, such as had previously been granted to the Jesuit superiors in Lower California. The powers were readily granted by the Sovereign Pontiff. Official etiquette in Spanish America required notification of such special faculties to be given to the King's representatives in the district where they were to be exercised, before being used. The act was wholly formal, as the powers conferred were outside the jurisdiction of the Spanish sovereigns.

The patent to confirm only reached Serra four years after it had been issued in Rome. The Propaganda sent it to the Franciscan Commissary-General, who laid it before the Council of the Indies and had it approved there. It was next sent to the Guardian of the College in Mexico, who had it approved by the Viceroy, and then issued his own permit to Father Serra to use the faculties. They were only for ten years' duration, four of which had expired.

Serra's delight at receiving the power to confer another sacrament of the Church on his converts was almost child-like. "The very next day, being St. Peter's," he gave confirmation to some Indian children at Carmel and repeated his exercise several times during the next month. Such was his enthusiasm that when the packet arrived he went on her to San Diego and traveled back on foot to Monterey through all the missions, everywhere giving confirmations.

After his return he desired to repeat the course in the

northern establishments, and asked Neve's permission to take a couple of the mission guards for protection. The Governor refused, and further gratuitously declared he did not know whether the mission President had really faculties to administer the sacrament. Neve did not stop at this insult, but wrote to de Croix an account of the affair, and asked his instructions. The recent separation of the Department from Mexico offered a favorable opportunity to assert the Commandant's authority and mortify the mission President. Neve had just written to his superior, urging that the Franciscans should be obliged to furnish accounts of their missions like the army officers. He added with bitterness "that the Indians were taught to look on the padres as supreme and to regard the officials of the King with indifference."

Serra, after Neve's remarks, sent himself a statement to the Commandant, and forwarded his own patent to the Guardian of the College in Mexico to have it completed by the formalities that Neve seemed to require. Both letters were sent at the same time, and Serra continued to confirm. Some months later, before the return of the packet from San Blas, Neve sent him an imperative order from the Commandant to surrender the patent to himself and not to attempt to confirm anyone until permitted by de Croix. The General showed his own feelings by directing Neve to seize the desired papers "by force if necessary." He justified his action on the opinion of his legal adviser, and added that when he received the documents he would communicate with the Viceroy and find whether the faculties were really validly issued.

Father Serra submitted to the arbitrary order and wrote to de Croix the next day, assuring him that the papers were not in his possession, but would be forwarded as soon as returned from the College. The Commandant only replied by a curt order to give up the documents without delay. It was a direct charge of falsehood, and keenly felt by the venerable friar, who repeated his for-

mer statement and attested it "on the word of a priest and with hand on a priest's heart." The patent had been transmitted to de Croix himself meanwhile, and copies returned to Serra to show Neve. The Commandant made no apology, but merely wrote to Neve he might allow Serra to continue his functions, as the Apostolic Brief was regular. The conduct of both de Croix and Neve showed a singular malevolence towards the mission President, not unlike that of Alva and Florida Blanca towards the Jesuits some years earlier.

Even after the permission to resume confirmations, the Governor wrote to de Croix that he had only abstained from seizing Father Serra's private papers because he thought "he would have hidden the patent with his unspeakable cunning and trickery." It would have only resulted in making the friars decline to found the missions on the Channel, which Neve wished for as a matter of political utility. "It will be well, at the right time to carry out certain measures, as the only way to bring this President to due respect for the authorities he eludes while he pretends to obey them." The value of Neve's judgment on Serra's truthfulness may be guessed when it is known that the measures in question were to remove the friars from control of the missions as soon as they had formed them under the conditions laid down by the existing laws, which Neve's regulations would abrogate without notice.

The death of Bucareli, which occurred in April, 1779, a few months before the action of de Croix in this matter, may have had some effect in prompting that officer to the course he took. Mayorga, who succeeded him as Viceroy, was disliked by Galvez, who coveted the post for his own brother. It is possible that de Croix thought it would be good policy to assert his own independence of the new Viceroy in any available way, as a passport to the favor of the President of the Council of the Indies. Otherwise it is hard to account for his conduct personally towards

Father Serra, except he followed the personal dislikes of his subordinate officer.

Neve had shown his antipathy to Serra in a singularly petty fashion a few months before. Two vessels of the Spanish navy anchored at Monterey. Bodega, who commanded one of them, brought a valuable painting as a votive offering to the Church at Carmel. It was put in place with much ceremony on the part of the Spanish officers and sailors, as well as the natives. Bodega invited Serra's presence as an old friend, but Neve churlishly forbade any soldier to escort the old man from Monterey to San Francisco, and in consequence he could not come.

In justice, it should be said the boorish anti-clericalism of Neve and de Croix was exceptional among the Spanish officials. The quondam Sergeant-Major Barri at Loretto was the only parallel to Neve in his hostility to the missionary friars. The action of the Viceroy Bucareli towards Father Serra is in strong contrast with the harsh arrogance of the Commandant of the Frontiers. The Viceroy was both cordial and judicious in his dealing with Serra's requests, and showed none of the slighted personal importance exhibited by the officials of a lower grade in California. In his administration in Mexico, while carrying out the reform measures begun by Galvez, he kept from interference with the Church. His rule was a period of marked prosperity. Population, wealth and intellectual culture were greater under his administration than that of any former Viceroy. Manufactures and mining were developed to a remarkable extent. The mining return of 1773 and 1774 reached twenty-six million dollars each year, and they continued to grow subsequently. The mint and other buildings of the capital, admired by Humboldt, dated from Bucareli. His charities were noted, especially towards the Indians. He founded an orphanage for them in Mexico, as well as the first asylum for the insane. Bucareli's sentiments towards the friars were

shown on his deathbed, when he desired to be clothed with the Franciscan habit and laid on the floor to pass from life as a Franciscan Tertiary.

The attempts of de Croix to change the existing mission administration stopped any new foundations till near the end of Neve's term of office. The Governor, however, began preparations for a second pueblo of Spaniards earlier. As soon as he had completed the new regulations in 1779 and sent them to the Commandant, the latter commissioned Captain Rivera to collect settlers in Sonora and Sinaloa. The formation of two pueblos had been advised by the old Regulation, and Neve only repeated the recommendation.

De Croix gave Rivera instructions for recruiting colonists in the same form as Bucareli had given Colonel Anza. The soldiers would get transportation and rations for their families, besides their pay; the settlers ten dollars a month each for three years after enrollment, with free passage for their families.

Rivera was empowered to enroll twenty-four settlers with families and to enlist thirty-four married men as soldiers. He was not as successful in getting the first-class as Anza had been, and after eighteen months had only gathered fourteen. With them and thirty-five soldiers and their families he started from Alamo to San Gabriel in April, 1781, by the road taken by Anza, through the San Gorgonio Pass. The colony reached San Gabriel safely in July, but Rivera stayed with a few men at the Colorado in the settlement newly made near Yuma.

Neve at once commissioned Lieutenant Ortega to found a pueblo on the Rio Portiuncula, under the name of Queen of the Angels, Reina de los Angeles. The conditions to be followed were like those at San Jose four years before. The officer was to lay out a town on high ground, near the stream, but not on its banks. He was to form a dam across the latter, with an irrigation ditch for the settlement in the first place. A plaza, three hundred

by two hundred feet, with its angles towards the four cardinal points, was then to be plotted. Three sides were to be cut into house lots, each twenty varas front and forty deep, which were to be divided by lot among the settlers. Each was to have further a farm of eight square hundred varas (about fourteen acres) of watered land and as much more beyond the irrigated district. The town was opened for settlers on the fourth of September, 1781, by Ortega.

The list of original burgesses is a curious one, and indicates the class of civilized settlers then available for the colonization plans of de Croix and Neve. Two of Rivera's fourteen settlers had deserted, and three more were sent away the next spring as "useless to the pueblo or themselves." Only nine were enrolled as "neighbors." The list shows two negroes and two mulattoes, married to women of the last class, four Indians with wives, one of them negro, one chino, or half negro, half Indian, one mestizo, half white, half Indian, and two Spaniards, both married to native women. One of these was among the three sent away the next spring, so there was but a solitary European in Neve's "pueblo of Spaniards." The showing indicates the practical difficulties of settling California at the time, except by the Franciscan method of converting and civilizing the original inhabitants. The comparative cost of pueblos and missions also throws a comic light on the urgency with which Neve called on the Franciscans for mission accounts.



## CHAPTER VIII

### OFFICIALISM AND MISSION WORK

Neve's "Regulation for California" was published before the foundation of Los Angeles, early in the same year. It provided for three new missions along the Santa Barbara Channel, without any modification of existing methods being mentioned. De Croix, through the Viceroy Mayorga, applied to the College of San Fernando for six priests to take charge of them. The Guardian, Father Pangua, named the required number, and then laid the usual requisitions for foundation supplies before Mayorga. The Viceroy informed him that General de Croix had not authorized any provision for farming works, but only the salaries of the priests themselves. He added that the Commandant begged them to start at once, and offered an extra two hundred dollars for traveling expenses. The Viceroy could only promise that he would give full attention to demands for mission supplies, if such should be found wanting when the missionaries reached California.

The Franciscans had reason to doubt the good faith of de Croix in this urgent call for their help. Neve's ill-will towards the missionaries already in California was well known to them and also the immorality tolerated among the military there. The suggestion in his new regulations of only placing single friars at the inland missions gave grounds for suspicion of farther changes not yet made public. De Croix had just begun two settlements on the Colorado, in which the priests were restricted to the duties of chaplains only, and were not allowed to gather their Indian converts into communities for agricultural training. The San Fernando College consulted and decided to take no part in missions in California under control of an officer who seemed ready to repeat the Colorado experi-

ment there. Father Pangua, the Guardian, consequently addressed a straightforward answer to the Viceroy's request. His friars refused to go to California unless assured fully that they would be allowed to follow the approved methods of missionary work. Pangua himself would not coerce them, and he reminded the Viceroy that conversion of heathens was not a task imposed on any class of subjects by the Spanish laws. It was purely voluntary service as far as the King was concerned. He pointed out the dangers of the system inaugurated by de Croix in Arizona, and gave instances of Neve's ill-will towards the Californian missionaries. The reply was signed by all the College authorities as well as the Superior. Mayorga received it without comment, and only forwarded it to the Spanish ministers at home.

The correctness of Pangua's conclusions was shown by the private instructions given by Neve to the officer charged with founding the Channel Missions, but not to the priests, either in California or at the College. They were issued in March, 1782, when the Governor confidently expected the arrival of the six friars asked for by de Croix. Their alleged reason was that there was little agricultural land on the Channel coast, so there might be danger in collecting the rancherias there into farm settlements. Neve ordered Lieutenant Ortega not to permit any mission villages. The natives were to be civilized only by the example of the soldiers, combined with teaching by the priests. The latter might invite small parties to stay a short time with themselves for instruction, but the natives must not be let to fix themselves near them permanently. It was the system that de Croix tried on the Colorado. The duplicity of the Commandant-General in trying to bring the Franciscans to California under these conditions was not creditable. His conduct contrasts strongly with that of Bucareli's Council in furnishing Serra a copy of their regulations as a protection against arbitrary measures on the part of the military officers.

The result of the new methods of civilizing savages devised by General de Croix was illustrated before the close of the year in which Pangua sent his answer. The Commandant had induced another College, Santa Cruz, at Queretaro to give priests to help his plans. He began two settlements in 1780 on the Colorado, at the crossing where Colonel Anza had been so hospitably treated by the Yumas. The Franciscan Father Garces had since traveled widely among the tribes as far as the Kern River in California, and, though alone, was everywhere well received. The Yumas, Mohaves and Papagos showed readiness to become Christians if instructed. The conversion and settlement of the natives along the road from Sonora to San Gabriel was of the greatest importance to the future of California, and Anza had recommended missions and a military post at Yuma. A beginning of the first was made in 1779, when Father Garces with two companions took up his residence with the Indian chief Palma at Yuma. He was joined by another Franciscan the next year, and the two made some converts. De Croix was pleased and promised gifts to the native chiefs, but failed to send them. A feeling of sullen distrust was awakened in consequence. The friars warned their College of its existence, but stayed at their post.

Early in 1780 the Commandant ordered two missions to be regularly established on the Colorado on a method which he considered more according to modern ideas of the time than the system founded by Las Casas. The natives were to be drawn to civilization by the example of civilized men settled near them. He planned colonies of farming soldiers to give the needed example. There were to be no military posts, but only an officer to direct the colonists and command them in case of hostilities. Two separate settlements were ordered among the Yumas. Ten married soldiers and as many agricultural colonists, all with families, were enlisted for each, and two friars were attached to look after the spiritual interests of both

Europeans and natives. They were not to gather their converts into distinct settlements, but might visit them in their rancherias and teach Christianity there. The plan of de Croix provided that individual Indians who desired it might be enrolled among the white settlers. House lots,



FATHER GARCES IN ARIZONA

farms and common pasturage were assigned to each pueblo, as at San Jose and Los Angeles. The plan of mixing whites and Indians in one settlement had been tried long before in Spanish America, and given up as

impracticable. De Croix's revival of it was a strange mixture of theoretical politics and ignorance of history.

The settlers arrived in the fall of 1780, and lands and house lots were at once given them. The natives were sullen. They had already been dissatisfied by the long delay of the Spanish authorities in sending their promised gifts. They were still more irritated by the appropriation of their lands and the destruction of their patches of corn and squash by the cattle of the settlers.

The military officers treated the natives harshly and flogged freely for offences against the newcomers. The commander even put the Indian Chief in the stocks on some petty charge. The insult rankled deeply. The irritation was increased when Rivera, in the middle of the year, brought the colonists for Los Angeles to the Colorado. He stayed there with the cattle and a few men, after sending the main body to San Gabriel, and the beasts made further destruction of the natives' gardens. The chief planned a conspiracy in July, and a band of warriors suddenly attacked the settlers while scattered on the fields, and killed nearly all the men. Rivera and his soldiers were slain after a day's stout resistance to superior numbers. The four Franciscans shared the fate of the settlers, though some converts protected Garces and his colleague for a few days after the first massacre.

News of the outbreak was brought to California a few days after its occurrence. Ensign Limon was on his way with nine men to Sonora, and found the settlements burned and the bodies of the slain lying around. He was attacked by the savages, but was able to fight them off, and returned to San Gabriel to report the tidings. Governor Neve was at San Diego, but seemed uncertain what course to follow. Limon offered to bring the hostiles to peace with twenty soldiers, but the Governor would not hear of such an attempt. He sent Limon back by way of the peninsula, and generally showed an indecision like

that of Rivera on the occasion of the murder of Jayme at San Diego some years before.

De Croix, at Arispe, showed equal bewilderment on the destruction of his carefully planned colonies. After holding council with his officers, he sent Colonel Fages, the former Governor, with a hundred men to the Colorado, with curiously pedantic instructions. He was "to proceed against the Yumas as rebels and apostates," but to make peace if they submitted and gave up the captives and their own ringleaders for execution. If they did not, Fages was to carry out the war and report to Neve for further instructions. The Colonel found the Yumas hidden in woods, eight leagues from the massacre, where he thought it unsafe to attack. He recovered some captives by purchase, and returned to Sonora, and there found fresh orders from de Croix to recover, at all events, the bodies of the Franciscans. Fages returned in December and searched for them among the ruins. Those of Fathers Moreno and Diaz had been buried by some converts near the place where they met death. Though five months in the ground, the bodies were still in good preservation. The graves of the other two, Garces and Barreneche were not found easily, and Fages hoped they might have escaped. After some time the eye of one of the soldiers was drawn by a patch of bright verdure in the desert away from the ruined mission. It was examined, and a cross found on it with the remains of the martyred priests interred beneath. The bodies of the four were placed in coffins and carried with reverence to the nearest Sonora mission for Christian burial. Fages himself told the particulars to some of the Californian Franciscans. He told further that some of the ransomed captives had averred on oath that for many nights after the massacre a ghostly band of white-robed figures had been seen moving over the ruins with lights and crosses. It was on account of these mysterious sights the Indians had abandoned the place in fear.

The Commandant next ordered Neve to lead a large force to punish the murderers. The Governor collected a hundred and sixty and marched to Yuma. He found a large party of hostiles, but did not engage them, though they showed much insolence. One of the officers, Captain Romieu, was so indignant at Neve's vacillation that he detached his company from his command and scattered the enemy with much loss. Neve made no attempt to continue the campaign, and shortly afterwards went to Chihuahua, where de Croix called him as his own second in command.

The missions on the Colorado were never restored, and the Yumas and other tribes, whose conversion had seemed assured, remained permanently hostile to the Spaniards. The route between Sonora and California was practically abandoned, as the only result of the colony planned by de Croix.

The catastrophe on the Colorado brought no apparent change in Neve's plans of Californian mission changes. His orders to Ortega, forbidding the gathering of the natives into settlements, were given some months after Serra was invited by the Governor to found the three missions, without any hint of the changes proposed. He was eager to do so, and promised compliance as soon as the priests from Mexico would arrive. He learned of their refusal to come and its motives only when the packet arrived in May. Neve had meantime provided no less than seventy soldiers, all married men, for the post at Santa Barbara and the three missions. Fourteen were detailed for San Buenaventura alone. The number leaves no doubt of Neve's purpose to copy the foundations of the Colorado in California. The refusal of Panagua to send priests alone caused the project to be dropped.

Neve wished to found at least one mission, and in it seems to have given up the attempted change of system. He invited Serra with apparent cordiality to begin at least the long-projected Mission of San Buenaventura.

The old man's eagerness for that foundation was special. On getting Neve's letter he started at once on foot for the south, giving confirmations everywhere on the road. He slept usually on the ground in spite of his seventy years. He reached San Gabriel on St. Joseph's day, "in time to sing the high mass." Father Cambon, who had been sent as a naval chaplain the year before, had just returned to California from Manila. It is suggestive of the isolation of the former, that the news of the election of a Guardian in the San Fernando College at Mexico first reached Serra by way of the Philippines. In the President's anxiety to see San Buenaventura founded, he decided to suspend the ordinary rule requiring two priests at each mission. He and Cambon agreed to each remain alone until the new missionaries' arrival from Mexico, so that priests might be available for San Buenaventura at once. The simple zeal of the old friar seemed to make him unwittingly the instrument of the Governor's hidden policy.

That policy, however, was doomed to fail from other causes. Neve came to San Gabriel and arranged the details of the new foundation with the mission President with much outward cordiality. He seemed indeed rather out of patience with the confused orders and countermands sent him by de Croix for the campaign against the Yumas. He waited several days for dispatches on that subject, and, as they did not come, he started, with Father Serra in company, to found the San Buenaventura Mission. The circumstances saved any necessity of disclosing his ultimate purpose of removing the friars from its management. The supplies of tools, provisions and cattle had been long ready, and there was a village of several hundred natives adjoining the mission site, which for the time, made needless any discussion of his opposition to gathering the converts into distinct settlements. Serra knew nothing of the plans of Neve and de Croix, nor of the action taken by his own college. He fell into the Gov-



ernor's plans with simple earnestness. The body of seventy soldier colonists was the largest military force yet seen in California, and Serra wrote to his friend Palou that the foundation of San Buenaventura was "quo serius eo solemnus," the more solemn for its delay.

The expected dispatches from the Commandant-General reached San Gabriel a few hours after the party had started. They were in hot haste, so much so, that when the courier overtook Neve he woke him at midnight to read. Their purport was that he should see Fages immediately and arrange for subduing the hostile Yumas. Meantime he was ordered to suspend the foundation of the mission and all other business.

The Governor himself returned the next day to San Gabriel to wait the coming of Fages, but the order of suspension he treated as Moraga had Rivera's prohibition to found the San Francisco Mission. He sent the party on to begin.

"Notwithstanding said order, the Governor bade the soldiers and settlers go on and found the Seraphic Doctor's mission, but to do nothing more till he came back, which would be soon. He rode to San Gabriel that very night to confer with Senor Fages. The next day the padres with the company took the road to the Channel and got to it on the twenty-ninth day of March, at the place called Asuncion by the earliest expedition, which is in latitude thirty-four degrees and thirteen minutes. There they halted and began the foundation on Easter Monday, the last day in March, taking possession with mass and an address from Father President. They forthwith set to build a chapel and dwelling, with a fence around them, which were well along when the Governor came back from his meeting with Colonel Don Pedro Fages at San Gabriel."

The tenor of de Croix's urgent midnight dispatch was enough to aggravate a milder man than Neve. Palou tells it: "He had ordered the said Fages to march straight

back to the Colorado and when he arrived there to tell Captain Fuera to go back to Sonora, as there was to be nothing done against the Yumas till September. When the Governor saw the new mission begun, and no sign of trouble among the natives around it, he decided to go and found the presidio of Santa Barbara likewise. He told the Father President so, and his reverence thought it well to go along, and see if, perchance, the mission of Santa Barbara could be founded as well."

"They left San Buenaventura one day in April, and before night came to the place called San Joaquin of the Lake, ten leagues away. The fort was located there, not very far from the shore, beside a grove of oak trees. The first mass was said in a tent of brush, the land having first been blessed and the standard of the Holy Cross raised. It is reported the site is dismal and with little water in it. Father President performed the functions all alone, and stayed there by himself till his leaving for Monterey."

There was a large village near the presidio, called Yanonalit in the native tongue. Its chief had rule over thirteen rancherias. He showed himself friendly, and the natives helped in building the stockade. Ortega laid out an irrigation ditch, and Santa Barbara, though not in name a pueblo, was really as much a village settlement as Los Angeles. The foundation of San Jose, Los Angeles and Santa Barbara thus belongs to Governor Neve. One, and only one, mission was established during the six years of his rule, though he had projected several on the lines of the Colorado settlements. Neve remained some time at Santa Barbara, while the active Fages, after going to the Colorado and sending back the Sonora soldiers of Captain Fuero, made a journey from San Diego to San Francisco to visit all the missions. In August he joined Neve at San Gabriel, and both started with sixty men to chastise the hostiles in conjunction with the troops from Sonora under Captain Romieu. On the road both got new dispatches from de Croix. Fages was named Governor of California

and ordered to return to Monterey, and Neve was raised to the rank of Inspector-General, or second in command to de Croix. His salary was eight thousand dollars, double that of Fages as Governor. Neve joined Romieu, but was too anxious to go to his new duties to begin the projected attack on the hostiles. He excused himself in a letter to de Croix, on the grounds that the previous expeditions had been mismanaged. Captain Romieu with his Sonora company attacked the Yumas and took some prisoners, but had then to accompany Neve. The Colorado Indians remained hostile and defiant. De Croix was superseded the next year, and Neve made Commandant-General of the Frontiers. He only held the office two years, and died in 1785, a year after Father Serra. The policy which he had begun towards the missions was to some degree followed by Fages in California, but without the anti-clerical feeling which had marked the course of his predecessor.

The main object of Neve in founding the pueblos was stated by himself to secure food supplies for the military, without need of bringing them from Mexico. He added, as a secondary consideration, that they might gradually fill the land with a population of Spaniards. The latter end was hardly attained. San Jose in 1790 had eighty Spanish population; Los Angeles a hundred and forty, only half of whom were of European origin. The adjoining Franciscan missions of Santa Clara and San Gabriel had, respectively, nine hundred and a thousand inhabitants. The San Jose citizens raised that year two thousand bushels of grain and owned a thousand cattle. Santa Clara had three thousand cattle and harvested as many bushels. Los Angeles furnished forty-five hundred bushels, and San Gabriel nearly seven thousand. It owned four thousand cattle and six thousand sheep as against three thousand and five hundred of the Spanish pueblo. The cost of each mission to the Pious Fund was about two thousand dollars. Anza's colony and Rivera's each cost

the Mexican treasury over sixty thousand. It can hardly be said that as a means of obtaining supplies the pueblos founded by Neve were a financial success. The comparative cost and results of pueblos and missions throws a comic light on the insistence of Neve for the "detailed accounts of mission expenditures."

## CHAPTER IX

### JUNIPERO SERRA'S DEATH

Don Pedro Fages became again Governor in September, 1782, just eight years after his first departure from California. He was now a Lieutenant-Colonel, and had gained experience of men and business since his early days as Lieutenant-Commander, when he tried the patience of friars and soldiers so sorely by his "bad temper and worse manners." The change of Governors made no alteration in the policy introduced by de Croix, but Fages, though rough and hot tempered, had none of the personal dislike of friars which was so marked in Neve. The latter showed his feelings in his parting recommendations to his successor. He advised that no soldiers should be permitted to accompany priests on their visits to the rancherias for longer than a single day. No priest, he thought, should be allowed to go with parties of exploration or police duty. Neve's last suggestion, that in case vessels from the Philippines should touch in California no friar should be allowed to visit them, is a curious display of low malignity.

The foundation of the missions on the Channel coast had been put off before Fages took office. The refusal of the college to co-operate in the system of de Croix was communicated to Father Serra in May, after the establishment of San Buenaventura. It was a keen disappointment to his hopes, but he recognized the wisdom of the action of his college. He wrote, begging that two priests should be sent the next year to take the places of such as might die or be invalidated.

Fages was more active than his predecessor, who, indeed, was more an official than a soldier. His commission was given in the camp at Sonorita, between San

Gabriel and the Colorado. He at once made a march to the mountains between San Diego and the Yumas, and talked resolutely with the chiefs of the tribes, warning them to keep the peace. He next made a round of all the missions and gave addresses to the converts in each. He warned them to keep to work and not to leave, or it would be worse for them. He bade them tell the runaways, who had become numerous during Neve's rule, that if they returned immediately they would be received without further inquiry, but he promised, if they did not, to make a general round-up himself, in which case he assured them flogging would not be spared. "They paid attention to him," Palou says, "because they knew him already." The runaways came back, while Fages went down to Loretto in the spring to escort his wife to Monterey.

The missions had grown considerably since his first departure. There were nearly four thousand Christian natives at his return, and they were increasing in all the nine missions. They were also growing settled in the ways of cultivation and stock raising, and California was able to feed its population by the yield of the mission farms. The nine missions had about five thousand cattle and horses and seven thousand sheep and hogs, and raised more than twenty thousand bushels of grain that year. The pueblos and soldiers at the presidios raised about one-sixth of that amount, and owned about seven hundred cattle and a thousand sheep. There was no very marked contrast between the material conditions of the white population and the mission Indians.

The cost to the Government of the pueblos founded by Neve did not encourage further attempts at assisted colonization. Fages took little interest in such work, neither had he the influence with the Government that had enabled his predecessor to get appropriations from the treasury. Both white and Indian population was left to grow as best they could in California. The Spanish families increased rapidly, though with little immigration during many

years. The missions already founded kept growing by new converts, though the native population seemed decreasing in numbers, since the arrival of the Spaniards in California. Eighteen friars had charge of the nine establishments already formed. The outside savages were invited to the missions as visitors or workmen, and were urged by the priests to settle near them and receive instruction. It was a point of special importance with the friars to make themselves acquainted with the dialects of the savages, and to win their confidence by hospitality. The use of force in bringing them to the missions was forbidden both by the rules of the College and the Government regulations.

Instruction in religion was, of course, of first importance in the work of the Franciscans. If the natives were willing, they were invited to spend some weeks at the missions, and get daily lessons from one of the friars in language suited to their ideas. Indian converts, well instructed, often helped in these classes, but the priests admitted none to baptism until convinced of their intelligent acceptance of the doctrines of Christianity. When baptized, settlement near the church was urged, but not insisted on. At San Diego and some other places, most of the converts continued to live in their old villages after baptism. When families were formally enrolled as members of a mission community, they were expected to remain in its territory, as other laborers engaged by contract would be. The runaways called back by Fages were looked on as deserting workmen would be at the time in every civilized country.

When enrolled in a mission, it was customary for the priests to give their converts periodical holidays of some weeks, during which they camped in the hills in their old fashion and lived by hunting and berry picking. Great care was taken to make the change from wandering to settled life gradual. The greater plenty and better quality of the food supplied the mission Indians was at first

the chief attraction for the savages to settle there. They cared little for clothing at first, and only used it by persuasion. The point insisted on by the administrators was rather the habit of steady work than any large amount of it. Even the savages were willing to do work fitfully for wages in food. The main difficulty was to make the converts regard it as a duty to be performed on moral grounds. It was for this reason deserters from the missions were so vigorously urged to return and compelled to do so. Police regulations within the missions had to be enforced as soon as the population reached any numbers. Those employed by the Franciscans were like those of boarding schools in Europe at the time. Whipping with a limited number of stripes, the stocks, and short rations, were the chief punishments used for faults of any kind. The soldiers were much inclined to regard the right of punishing as their own, and their treatment was much harsher than that of the Franciscans. It is noticeable that certain classes of offences were differently regarded by the priests and the military officers. The latter looked on cattle stealing as it would be in Europe, a serious felony. The Franciscans punished it much the same as disorderliness at church or other petty breaches of discipline.

The enrollment in the missions was everywhere slow at first. There was much difference between the savages in different districts in accepting Christian beliefs. At San Diego there was unwillingness to give up the dance gatherings. At San Buenaventura there was a superstitious dread of the local deity, Chupu or Aachup. In San Luis, a year and a half after its foundation, there were only twelve converts. In San Francisco thirty-one after a similar period; in Capistrano forty-two. At San Diego, before the outbreak, less than a hundred had been enrolled by six years' efforts; in San Gabriel, after two years, seventy-three. In 1783 the number had grown to seven hundred and forty at San Diego, though only half were permanent residents. At San Luis it was six hundred and



sixteen; at San Francisco nearly four hundred; at Capistrano, three hundred and eighty-three.

Governor Fages got leave of absence, to bring his wife to Monterey, during the year 1783. The war between Spain and England was ended then by the recognition of the American Republic. During his absence his place was filled by Adjutant Soler, an appointment newly made by de Croix. Soler was a martinet and a man of limited ideas, who chiefly occupied himself with the accounts of the newly elected military paymasters. These gave much trouble to all concerned, through the complicated methods of paying the soldiers in Mexican goods. The paymasters had to discharge the duty of storekeepers, and few officers were naturally qualified for such. The yearly balances were mostly incomplete, and the officers had to make up shortages from their own pay, though no charge of intentional dishonesty was made against them. Soler was strict and harsh, though himself no more qualified as an accountant than the paymasters. On one occasion he charged a lieutenant with a deficit of three hundred dollars, when the latter, in fact, had a credit of twice that amount good. Many officers had to remain on half pay or less for long periods to make up for clerical errors. Adjutant Soler, himself had to meet the same treatment on his retirement from California, and spent several years on half pay to make up a shortage of seven thousand dollars.

There was good reason for Serra's persistent refusal to allow like bookkeeping to be imposed on the priests of the missions. Money was practically unknown in the latter, and valuations in it of crops and cattle would have been useless, except to furnish officials with pretexts to embarrass the real mission work. The Franciscans, however, kept the statistics of their missions with an accuracy rare at the time in any public work. The harvests, cattle, and permanent improvements were counted each year and reported to the College and the Mexican civil authorities.

A full record of births, deaths and marriages was kept through California twenty years before the first census of the United States. The Franciscans refused to undertake more, and their action gave rise to much complaint from Neve and Soler.

Father Serra was apparently not seriously disturbed by Soler's anxiety for mission reckonings. He had other troubles, more serious at this time. He keenly regretted the delay in founding the Channel missions, which left the numerous native population there to their original barbarism. The change proposed by the Spanish court of the colleges into custodies gave him serious anxiety besides. It is true marks of royal approbation of the former were given at the same time by the appointment of Lora, an old Californian missionary, Bishop of Maracaibo, and Verger, the Guardian of San Fernando College, Bishop of Linares. Still the ministry seemed urgent in its efforts to get the impractical system of local custodies adopted, and Serra feared to see his cherished work ruined by official meddling and ignorance. He divided his priests, however, in pairs among the nine missions meantime, and kept them steadily to their work. Besides his duties as President, he administered Carmel Mission himself. He only asked two priests to replace possible losses from the College under these circumstances. They were sent during the year that Fages was absent.

They found the old man greatly enfeebled, but still zealous for work. His old companion, Father Crespi, the first Franciscan to enter California, had passed away in the beginning of the year before. He was a native of the same island and educated at the same school and university as Serra. They had come to Mexico together as missionary volunteers, and both spent years among the Pames of the Sierra Gorda in Mexico. From that Crespi went directly to California to meet the exiled Jesuits at San Blas and take their places in the Peninsula. He had come with Rivera to San Diego, and accompanied Portola

to the discovery of the Bay of San Francisco, of which his diary is the earliest record. He later went with Fages on the first exploration of the San Joaquin Valley, and sailed with Perez in his voyage to Vancouver Island in 1774. He and Father Serra visited San Francisco in the latter part of 1781, and returned to Santa Clara to lay the foundation of a new church there. They had only returned a few weeks from this journey when Crespi sickened and died, the first Franciscan buried in California, except the martyred Luis Jayme at San Diego. Serra and Palou felt the loss of Crespi as a brother's. His character was singularly gentle, despite his tireless activity, and he enjoyed the good-will of all the Spanish officers, not less than of his own brethren and the Indians, both Christian and gentile. His body rests in the church at Carmel with those of the two first Superiors of the Californian missions.

The coming of the new missionaries seemed to put new vigor into the feeble body of Serra. He went on the packet to San Diego, though none in Monterey believed he would outlive the voyage in the condition of his health. At San Diego he worked as energetically as ever, teaching, preaching and confirming the converts. His faculties for confirmation had been granted by the Holy See for a term of ten years, and would expire in 1784. Serra's desire that no Christian in California should remain without the sacrament was almost a passion, and he set to visit every mission in succession for that end, as well as to examine its management. Though suffering severely from illness, he would not change his practice of traveling on foot, and he made thus the whole journey back to Carmel.

It occupied him nearly three months, and most of the time he only had the ground for a bed and continued all his old ascetic practices. Like Las Casas, he never used meat, even in sickness. The long journey from San Gabriel to San Buenaventura was to him specially trying. The sight of the numerous rancherias where the population still lived in paganism affected him deeply. He ex-

pressed great joy at finding even a few Christians at the new mission, and confirmed all that were fit. In Mallorca it was customary to bring infants for confirmation at an early age. Serra himself had received it at two years, and he practiced the same course among the Indians. Before his faculties ended, he had confirmed five thousand three hundred, though the whole number of Christians was under six thousand. He at last got to Carmel and there took up the routine of his duties like a young man, in spite of his seventy years.

Palou's account of the last months of his friend's life is remarkable. He slept on a board and rose at day-break. Then, after a visit to the mission cross and recital of his office, he said mass and went to the fields with the Indian laborers. His work was alternated with instructions to the converts and children, and with frequent visits to the cross, where he repeated the rosary several times in the day. The coming of Lent and Easter increased his activity, and he carried out in person all the ceremonies of Holy Week, and confessed the whole population of both mission and presidio. Then he started again on foot to finish the circuit of the missions by visiting Santa Clara and San Francisco and exercising his faculties for confirmation there before their expiration in the coming July.

Santa Clara had advanced much since its foundation, and now numbered over six hundred converts. Its ministers, Pena and Murguia, had built a large church of adobe, and its consecration was fixed for the return of Serra from San Francisco on the sixteenth of May. Father Murguia had been a colleague of Serra's in the Sierra Gorda thirty years before, and a strong friendship bound them together. They were nearly of the same age, and had shared mission life together in Mexico and California since 1749. Murguia had joined the Franciscans at a more advanced age than Serra, and had come as a layman to Mexico. His zeal for active work was like the President's own, and the Santa Clara church was largely the work of his hands as

a builder as well as designer. Father Serra hurried on to San Francisco after confirming all in Santa Clara, and had a joyful reception from Palou.

The attachment between Palou and Serra was unusually strong. They were both natives of the same island and had become Franciscans in the same community. Serra had been professor for the other, who was nine years his junior, and when he was debating in his own mind the project of volunteering for mission work among the American savages, Palou unexpectedly had asked his advice about a like course. They sailed together from Spain in 1749, and worked together in the Sierra Gorda and Lower California until the expedition to San Diego. Palou had remained in charge of the Franciscan missions of the peninsula four years longer, but finally joined Father Serra in Upper California, where for ten years they had worked with one mind for the common purpose. Serra's diary speaks with deep feeling of his parting from his countryman in the peninsula.

"I stayed in that Mission Xavier for several causes. Cause enough was the very special and mutual love between me and its minister, Father Francis Palou, my own pupil and commissary of the Holy Office of Inquisition, who was named to succeed me in the administration of these missions, in case of my death or long absence."

The two friends were now met in San Francisco sixteen years after the time just mentioned, and with all his ailments Serra "rejoiced with very great joy." The end was coming for him and he knew it. Two days after his arrival in San Francisco a post came from Santa Clara that Father Murguia had been stricken down with mortal illness and Palou had to hurry down to his deathbed. He passed away on the eleventh of May and was buried the next day. Father Serra toiled down from San Francisco four days later and blessed the new church according to promise, with Governor Fages as a witness to the cere-

mony. The joy of the occasion was clouded by the sudden death of the founder.

Serra felt the loss of his old companion deeply. He asked Palou to stay awhile at Santa Clara, and quietly prepared for his own end by a retreat of some days and a general confession. He then set about visiting every cottage and confirmed all, even the sick in their beds. The two friends parted, Palou to San Francisco, Serra to Monterey, whence he sent one of his assistants to take the place of Murguia. He resumed duties at the mission himself with the determination to die at his post.

His faculties for confirmation expired on the sixteenth of July, and on that day he left none fit for the reception of the sacrament without it. The same day the packet arrived at Monterey and brought letters from the college telling that no new missionaries could be sent to California, on account of the changes which the Court at Madrid seemed bent on making. The old man took the tidings as a sign that his life work was ended. He remarked to a brother Franciscan shortly, "I have finished my course, I have kept the Faith," and he wrote farewell letters to all the priests in the missions under him. Of Palou he asked a last visit and help at death, and the visit of one of the priests from San Luis and San Antonio. He then went on with his usual routine of work while waiting the end.

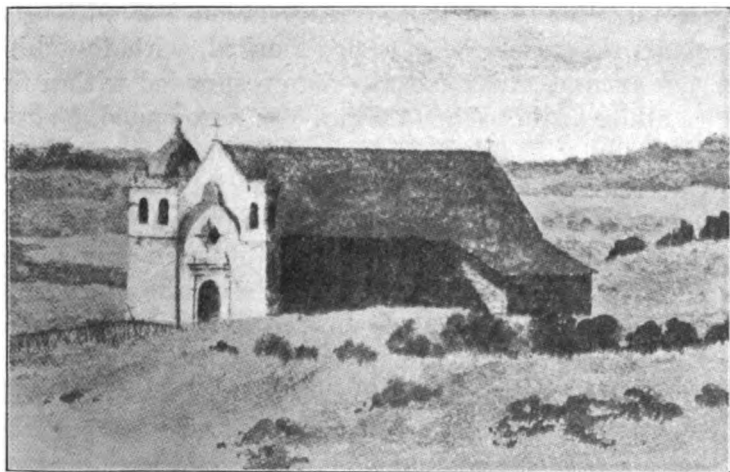
His last days are told in loving detail by his friend. When Palou got the letter he started on foot from San Francisco and reached Carmel on the eighteenth of August. He found the President chanting hymns in the church among the Indians in honor of the Assumption, and at first could not believe him dangerously ill. The next day he asked Father Palou to sing high mass in honor of St. Joseph, a practice which had been observed on the nineteenth of each month since the first settlement at San Diego. Serra, though unable to say mass, chanted the responses from the choir, and the next day made the

round of the stations unaided. He continued to walk around the mission, superintending works and distributing clothing and food to Indian visitors, for the next four or five days. An Indian woman of eighty years was among the visitors, and Father Serra joked with her about a prank of one of her children, and then walking to his own room brought out half of a blanket which he gave her. It was afterwards found that he had cut it from the coverlet of his bed of boards. Other Indians were continually coming, as the news of his approaching death had spread, but no sign of the expected priests from San Antonio or San Luis. Father Serra expressed some sorrow for this, and Palou found that, by the negligence of the military officer, his letters had never been sent. A post was at once sent with them, but it came too late. The packet from San Blas came into Monterey a couple of days after Palou's arrival. The ship surgeon offered his services and applied severe caustics to the patient's chest, but to no purpose. Though fully aware of the approach of death, Serra continued to employ his hours in going among the Indians, advising and distributing clothing and food. The twenty-sixth of August he spent almost entirely in prayer, made a general confession to Father Palou, and asked to be left alone through the night. Early next morning his friend visited his cell and found Serra reciting the matin office. He asked for the Viaticum, but insisted on walking to the church to receive it. "It is not fit," he said, "to bring Our Lord to me while I can walk to the church." He went there without help and knelt at a table in the sanctuary, while Father Palou vested in the sacristy. To the astonishment of the latter, Serra sang the whole hymn of benediction, *Tantum Ergo Sacramentum*, before communion, and then remained kneeling through the administration. He walked back to his room as he had come and remained there alone in prayer.

A strange visitor came to see him, who was met and questioned by Palou. It was the carpenter from the pre-

sidio whom Father Serra had sent for to prepare his coffin, and who came for directions how he wished it. Palou told him to make it like Father Crespi's.

The patient passed the day in silence after the Viaticum, seated in a chair. Towards night he asked for and received Extreme Unction, and then recited aloud the Litany of the Saints and the seven Penitential Psalms. The Indians now thronged into his room and filled it all through the night, which was passed by the dying man partly on his knees and partly seated on the floor. In that



THE LAST RESTING-PLACE, CARMEL CHURCH

position Father Palou gave his friend the final Plenary Indulgence, according to the Franciscan Ritual. The passing hours had each some work to be done, and Serra met each with calm resolution.

The next day, the twenty-eighth of August, the officers of the ship with Captain Canizares, an old friend of the dying man, came to visit him. He welcomed them cordially, rising from his chair and giving each the usual Spanish embrace, after which all sat down and talked of their last voyage and old times. Father Serra ordered the



bells rung in compliment to his visitors, and joined in the conversation with cheerful courtesy. He thanked his visitors, asked them to throw a little earth on his body when dead, and told Palou of his wish to be buried in the church beside his friend, Father Crespi. He added, "When the stone church is built, they may cast me where they like."

Palou could not answer for sometime and then promised to comply with his friend's request. A little later the invalid asked Father Palou to recite the prayers for a departing soul. "A great fear has fallen on me," he said, "and I am in much dread; read the Recommendation aloud that I can hear it." Father Palou uttered the last solemn prayers of the church as asked, with the ship's officers around, and the dying man responded with a firm voice all through. When the prayers were ended, he cried out joyfully, "Thanks to God, the fear has left me; thanks to God there is no more need to fear; let us all go out." The visitors rose to leave, and the surgeon told him he hoped for a speedy recovery, but the old man only smiled.

He took up his Breviary and finished the office, after which he remarked, "Let us now go to rest," and walked to his bedroom, where he lay down on the plank bed with a crucifix in his arms and seemed to wish to sleep. The officers went to dinner, and a few minutes later Father Palou came back and found his old friend still in death. "It was on the afternoon of the feast of St. Augustine, and we believe hopefully that he went to Heaven to get the reward of his missionary toil," writes the biographer in his own name and that of Father Serra's other colleagues.

Father Junipero Serra was nearly seventy-one years when he thus passed away. His life had been one of ceaseless work since his entry to the order at Palma at seventeen. Junipero was his religious name only; at baptism he had received that of Miguel Jose. His character, apart from its high religious zeal and self-sacrifice, was that of the Catholic peasantry of his native island. It was shown

through life in the simple speech and homely objects which he laid before the Council of Bucareli, and left embodied in his diary and letters. He had studied well in the philosophy and theology of the schools, and won fame as a preacher in Mallorca before devoting his life to missionary work among the Indians. In the last he had passed thirty-four years of toil, without rest or haste. He had spent nine years among the Indians of Mexico and seven or eight as preacher and commissary of the Inquisition in the capital and the adjoining dioceses before his appointment as head of the Californian missions. His life there is largely the history of California.

## CHAPTER X

### FRAY FIRMIN LASUEN

Palou succeeded Father Serra as mission Superior. He had been Vice-President since the latter first left Lower California, and took the Presidency as a matter of duty, but he wrote to be relieved from it and let return to Mexico. His request was granted, and on his return he was elected Guardian of the College. Father Lasuen, the administrator of San Diego, the same who had laid the interdict on Governor Rivera, was appointed Superior of the Franciscans in California.

Palou wrote Serra's life during his last year in California. It was published in Mexico and widely circulated, both there and in Europe. He afterwards wrote a history of the Californian missions in full down to the death of his predecessor. It remained in manuscript in the College archives till published in 1857 under the title "Noticias de la Nueva California." The early settlement of California has thus the advantage of a historian, who was himself one of the prominent actors in its events. The writer's strong attachment to his Order and friends is balanced by a conscientiousness that sometimes borders on prolixity. Palou quotes official documents often at full length, and is singularly chary in attributing motives, even to the officials most unfriendly to the missionaries. His work is marked with painstaking research also. The diaries of his contemporaries, like Crespi, are quoted in full, and their simplicity gives a peculiar flavor to the story told; while it also gives a clear insight into the feelings and motives of the early Spanish friars. Palou's description of the formalities at Monterey suggests a certain calm indifference to secular pomp and parade. "It

was established with the usual pulling grass, casting stones and making legal note of the same."

A like plainness of speech, coupled with due regard for official dignitaries, runs through both Palou's own writing and the diaries of Crespi and Serra. The official grades of rank are always given with scrupulous courtesy, each in its kind. The King is usually His Majesty, and the Viceroy His Excellency; the Commandant-General "His Lordship," and the Governor of California "His Honor," el Senor Gobernador. Captains like Rivera are always "Senores," but lieutenants rarely and ensigns never. The Franciscan prelates are always styled "Reverend Fathers," and bishops "Most Illustrious Honors."

The plain language with which the bearers of these titles are sometimes spoken of is at times amusing in its Quaker-like bluntness: "When the Dominicans came to California, His Honor, Don Felipe Barri, told them that we had robbed the old missions for the new ones, and Father Mora and his colleagues certified that His Honor's statement was a false lie." When even church dignitaries were concerned, the language was equally plain. A Bishop, named by Charles III., was attempting to forward the projects of the court in the question of the custodies to replace the colleges, and got a criticism at the Franciscan College of Queretaro: "When His Most Illustrious Honor, Bishop Reyes, was at the college, he spoke of making a custody in Sonora. The Venerable Council put on a bold face and told him the Bull for that had been got by misrepresentation. They showed letters of His Honor's, while he was a missionary, which told a very different story. His Most Illustrious Honor felt it very much and left the said college quite disgusted." The plainness of language in Serra's memorial to the Viceroy of Mexico is a good example of Franciscan style.

The formal courtesy which marked the titles of dignitaries so carefully was also used by the Spanish Franciscans in speaking of the supernatural world. St. Joseph

is always "El Senor San Jose, His Lordship, St. Joseph;" St. Francis, "Our Seraphic Patriarch;" St. Buenaventura, "The Seraphic Doctor." To these and other saints the friars applied for help of all kinds as familiarly and with more confidence than to Viceroy or King. When the San Carlos unexpectedly appeared at San Diego on St. Joseph's Day, just as the Novena for his help was finished, Serra and Crespi regarded it as surely as the saint's work as they would consider a grant from the treasury the deed of the Viceroy. They were conscientious in distinguishing between such special action and public miracles made for evidence of the Faith, but for themselves they held both alike, sure and natural. The communion of saints of all time and places was to them as definite a fact as the existence of the College of Cardinals; the unseen world of angels as actual as the visible world in which they dwelt themselves.

It is very characteristic that Palou or Crespi use the name of God very sparingly. No adjective is ever attached to the sacred name Dios. The reverence of their practice, in this respect, is in striking contrast with the ways of English writers on religious subjects. Sometimes, but rarely, the term "His Majesty" is used for the Creator, but it is never abbreviated, as it is when the King of Spain is named.

Conversions increased remarkably after Father Serra's death. More than nine hundred Indians were enrolled in the missions during the four months after its occurrence. The Franciscans had no doubt but this sudden growth was due to the intercession of their late Superior. It continued, and by 1790 thirteen thousand Californians had been baptized. The mission population then was about eight thousand.

Father Lasuen, on his appointment, continued the methods of Serra with little change. Fages meddled but little with the missions, though de Croix, and after him Neve, as Commandant-General, forbade the establishment

of new ones. The Governor retained his old faculty for getting up quarrels, though not of a serious kind. He put his assistant Soler on one occasion under arrest for some petty cause and directed him to enter the office where he performed his duties "by the back door." The incident did not interrupt friendship between the two. Soler was afterwards called on to effect a reconciliation between Fages and his wife, who had quarreled with him. The Governor even talked of putting handcuffs on his lady, but was met with defiance on her part. The good offices of the priests at Carmel were also called in, and finally domestic peace was restored in the house of Fages.

The temper of the Governor caused some curious criticisms on the administration of the friars. He wrote to the Viceroy to complain that Palou had once received him "with a hard, cold face unfitting the rank of a Governor," and that two other friars "had raised their voices unbecomingly" when speaking with him. In another official document he charged Pena, of Santa Clara, with cruelty because "he had seen him pull a boy's ear till the blood came," and that other Indians told him "they had been whipped with chains instead of rods." On the other hand the Governor declared the mission Indians got too much meat and were allowed to ride on horseback which he feared "would make them as dangerous as the Apaches if they should ever grow hostile."

In spite of these occasional outbursts Fages showed himself generally friendly to the missions. When his Adjutant, Soler, prepared a report recommending changes in the existing system on the pattern of de Croix's establishments on the Colorado, the Governor sent it to Mexico with directly opposite advice. He pronounced Soler's recommendations absurd. It would be insanity to leave the missions unprotected against the roving bands of natives. The soldier's work looking after the presidio cattle was not too much and was well repaid by the profit. There was plenty of land for all settlers of Spanish race

in the pueblos and elsewhere, and the soldiers knew it. For the missions Fages declared their Indians were kept in good order, solely through the unceasing care of their friars, and that the converts were as yet no ways qualified to become citizens in the Spanish sense. He added, with justice, that the laws of Spain recognized the mission lands as the rightful property of the natives, and to be divided among them as soon as they were fit to make profitable use of private ownership. To the zeal and efficiency of the Franciscans, generally, the Governor gave the highest praise.

The reports of Soler and Fages were practically the last words on the projects of De Croix. Jose Galvez died the next year and the missions continued on their original methods down to the close of Spanish rule in California.

Santa Barbara was the first mission founded by Father Lasuen. It was established on the 15th of December, 1786, in the presence of Fages and at his request. The project of changing the mission system had not yet been definitely gives up, but the Governor was not disposed to raise difficulties and the mission President made no demand for government aid. Paterna, an old missionary of the Sierra Gorda, was named administrator by Lasuen. The friars and Indians did all the needed work without guards, as the neighborhood of the presidio was enough protection.

Paterna gave unwonted attention to the buildings. From the first all were built of adobe with roofs of thatch, instead of the brush huts and frame houses which were the usual beginnings of other places. The following year Paterna made tiles and replaced the original thatch with the more solid material. The church, residence for the priests, another for workmen and a house for Indian girls, with a granary, were built the first year. A larger house for the Indian women and another for the men when staying for instruction, were added the next year. The first church was pulled down after two years and a larger built

which in turn was replaced by a still larger one in 1793. The last was a hundred and twenty-seven feet long and twenty wide internally. About six hundred natives were baptized during the first four years. Paterna died a year later, but the impulse he had given in the way of building was continued and Santa Barbara had a special preeminence among the missions for the quality of its buildings.

The next year, on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, Lasuen founded La Purissima, another of the long planned Channel missions, and about eighteen leagues south of San Luis Obispo. Fray Fuster, the companion of Jayme, at San Diego, was put in charge with Fray Arroita, newly from the College, as assistant. There were fifty gentile rancherias in the district and their people showed more readiness to take to settled life and work than those of San Diego. Three years after the foundation three hundred baptisms had been recorded and twenty-three deaths. The farm had a hundred and seventy cattle at the time and eight hundred sheep, goats and hogs. Fifteen years later the Christians had increased to fifteen hundred and in 1810 there were no heathens remaining in the district.

The decrease in the numbers of the natives along the Channel had begun before the establishment of missions there, though it is difficult to assign the cause. When Portola and Crespi passed through the country in 1769 they estimated the population between San Fernando and Point Conception at fully twenty thousand and their figures seem drawn from careful reckoning of the villages passed through. The islands, too, seemed well peopled. Fourteen years later, before San Buenaventura was founded or any occupation of the country beyond the passage of packtrains, Governor Neve reported the same district as having only ten thousand native inhabitants. The number in the Channel missions twenty-five years later was about six thousand. The figures would indicate that the high mortality noted in many of the Californian mis-



sions was due to causes at work before their foundation in the primitive barbarism. Payeras noted that for some years after the beginning of La Purissima most of the births were still born among the Indian women. It was much less so after the mission population had been some years under training. The old habits, however, may have left disastrous effects on the population, even when they had been eradicated.

No more missions were founded under Fages. He ended his term of office in 1791 and was succeeded by Romieu, the officer who had chastised the Yumas in defiance of Neve's delay. In spite of his hot temper Fages made a fair ruler during his second term. His activity was considerable, and there was no charge to be made against his humanity to the natives or personal honesty. With Lasuen he lived on friendly terms, despite his occasional grumblings, and he was certainly more competent than either Neve or Rivera.

Galvez died in Spain two years before Fages left California and Charles III. a year later. The projects of the crown ministers for remodelling the Franciscan Order were dropped completely after the death of Galvez. In 1789, after the death of the King, the Mexican Viceroy, Revilla Gigedo, asked the College of San Fernando to begin new missions in California on the same terms and allowances as those formed at first. The policy of De Croix was definitely repudiated, and even the political department formed for him was practically reunited with the Viceroyalty of Mexico. The authorities of the College were only too glad of the Viceroy's proposal. Four priests, Tapis, Miguel, Rubi and Dante were sent to California in 1790, and two more the following year. Father Lasuen, himself, raised the "Mission Cross" at Santa Cruz on the 28th of August, 1791. A corporal and two soldiers was all the escort asked. The supplies furnished by the other missions much exceeded the thousand dollars allowed by the Viceroy. San Francisco sent five yoke of

oxen and seventy sheep, Santa Clara, twenty-two horses and sixty-four cows, San Carlos, fifteen horses and mules. A field near the San Lorenzo was planted with twenty-five fanegas of wheat, and fifty more were given to feed the laborers.

Eighty-four Indians enrolled on the mission register before the close of the year, and the number increased to five hundred in five years, but the native population was not large in the district. Here, as at San Francisco, they were liable to sudden and fatal epidemics both before their residence in the mission and after.

Soledad, in the wide and treeless valley, which got the name of "Solitude" from Crespi on his first visit, received a mission six weeks afterwards. It was a fine locality for pasturage and the cattle and sheep increased rapidly, but the Indians around were not many. The largest population of the mission was reached in 1805 when it counted seven hundred and twenty-six, while Santa Cruz reached its maximum of six hundred and sixty-seven, years before that date. There was a severe epidemic at Soledad in 1802, and the deaths numbered five and six daily for some time. In 1808 the cattle of the mission numbered sixty-six hundred and the sheep over ten thousand. The first had increased six fold and the sheep three fold in eight years, but there was rather a decrease in the human population in the same time. Lieutenant Arguello attended the inauguration of the mission as representative of the Governor, and Fathers Rubi and Garcia were its first administrators. Both soon broke down in health and had to be replaced by others. Theirs was a common case among the pioneers and is easily accounted for by the loneliness of their life among a stolid race in a strange land. Isolation was the trial most keenly felt by men used to the intercourse of community life. Even the cheery Lasuen declared that "no one could convince him he was bound to remain alone in the ministry. Nothing can be more terrible except sin." The strain was

physical as well as mental. Of forty-six Franciscans who came to California in the first three years, only nineteen remained four years later. This may enable one to account for the resistance of the college to Neve's project for restricting each mission to a solitary priest.

Governor Romieu retired shortly after the foundation of Soledad and no missions were begun for some time. Spain was soon involved in the wars of the French Revolution and communications with Mexico were much interrupted. The number of missionaries that could reach America was, consequently, much lessened and of those that came but a limited number were able to endure the trials of Californian solitude.

Colonel Borica succeeded Romieu in 1792. He was the ablest of all the Spanish Governors of California and on friendly relations with Lasuen and the friars. Indeed, after the death of Galvez the latter had little obstruction on the part of the officials to complain of. The Viceroys were as favorably disposed as the local rulers. The anti-clerical temper of Neve and De Croix was exceptional among Spanish officials.

It was not till 1797 that Lasuen was able to make extensions of the chain of missions. He founded four that year, the largest number yet established in like time. The first was San Jose, so named by special request of the Mexican Viceroy. Mission San Jose was located on the east shore of the Bay of San Francisco, about six leagues from the town of the same name. Father Lasuen established it on the 11th of June, 1797. Governor Borica sent six men as a permanent guard and further detailed Lieutenant Amador with a party of the San Francisco garrison to help in the buildings. The latter, at first, were all of brush or frame structure. Donations to the new establishment were given by the three nearest missions, twelve yoke of oxen, twelve mules, sixty hogs, forty horses and two hundred and forty sheep. Provisions for the first year's laborers and seed for farm purposes was also given gratis. Two friars newly arrived were put in

charge and Father Catalá, of Santa Clara, paid frequent visits to guide their work.

The natives around were less tractable than those of Santa Barbara. Only three hundred and sixty-four baptisms were registered during the first three years. One of the priests in charge failed in health after two years and had to retire. The mission Indians numbered two hundred and eighty after three years, as eighty-eight had died in that time.

The mountain tribes gave trouble to the San Jose Mission. They had been long used to make forays on the rancherias on the Bay shore and they continued the practice, though treated with the usual hospitality when they visited the mission. One of the priests, Father Cueva, was set upon when visiting a sick native. He was wounded and four of the Christians with him killed. The sergeant of the mission guard promptly attacked the assailants and killed eleven in a skirmish. They then begged mercy which was given on condition that the raids should cease. This occurrence occurred some years after the foundation, which was peacefully carried out like others.

From Mission San Jose Father Lasuen at once went southward to begin another under the name of San Juan Bautista. The proceedings were similar, and the 24th of June, the foundation day, a survey was made of the territory attached to San Juan and the mission district marked out by bounds to separate it from those adjoining. Twenty-three rancherias were found within them. The native names were given in the records. They were Onex-taco, Absayrac, Motsum, Trutca, Teboaltac, Xisca, Giguay, Tepisastac, Ausaima, Poitoquix, Paicines, Guachurones, Calendaruc, Asistarca, Poujouoma, Tamarix, Suri-cuama, Thithiri, Unjama, Chapana, Mitaldejama, Echantac and Yelmus. Names of places seem to have been widely given by the natives in old California though few have survived.

No enumeration has been kept of the number of natives

in those villages but the converts during the first three years were more than at Mission San Jose. Six hundred and forty were baptized in that time at San Juan of whom five hundred were settled in the mission. Sixty-three had died and about as many returned to wandering life. The mountain savages raided the mission Indians after their settlement as they did at San Jose. The year after the foundation a tribe called the Ansaimes, came to attack the church, but were scared away without battle. A little afterwards another, the Bears, made a descent on one of the gentile rancherias and killed eight of its people. The sergeant of the guard followed the murderers, killed their chief in fight, and brought two prisoners back who were detained as prisoners and trained to act as interpreters afterwards. No other punishment was inflicted and a year later the Ansaimes made a similar unprovoked raid and killed four Mutus. Sergeant Castro went after them and made a number of prisoners, who were sent for some time to work at the presidio of Monterey. He also made a roundup of about fifty mission Indians who had deserted and brought them back to their own settlement by authority of the Governor.

The tendency of the mountain tribes to make apparently wanton raids on those of the valleys was marked among the Californians in their savage condition. Father Crespi on his first journey saw evidence of the practice near San Buenaventura, and a similar habit caused most of the early disturbances at San Diego. It was chiefly to check or punish such raids that any hostilities on the natives were sanctioned by the Governors during Spanish rule. It was rarely that they allowed the soldiers even to bring back runaways from the missions as Castro did at San Juan.

San Miguel, in the hot Salinas valley, was the next foundation and followed San Juan within a month. The missions of San Luis Obispo, La Purissima and San Antonio contributed the first stock—eight yoke of oxen, twenty-

three horses, a hundred and thirty cattle and a hundred and eighty sheep. Fray Sitjar, a Mallorcan, was named administrator and Father Horra, who had just arrived from Mexico with a high name of talents and zeal, appointed assistant. Fifteen Indian children were baptized on the Foundation Day.

There was no trouble at San Miguel with raids of the outside savages as at San Jose and San Juan. The mountain Indians were far away and generally it was only they who showed an inclination for war. A sad specimen of native malice, however, was given four years after the foundation of San Miguel. Three natives poisoned the priests in charge and a third visitor. One, Fray Pujol, died in consequence. The culprits were not executed.

The crops were uncertain though the cattle increased rapidly. Dry seasons were common and ruinous in the treeless Salinas valley. The population, however, continued to increase for many years and reached eleven hundred in the year 1814. Father Horra was unable to bear the loneliness of the place, and after two months developed symptoms of insanity. He had to be sent back to the College and there afterwards caused much trouble by wild charges against Lasuen and others. His place was taken by Fray Martin who remained permanently until his death, twenty-seven years later. Martin was distinguished among his brethren for his acquaintance with the Indian dialects. He made an exploration of the Tulare valley beyond the mountains in 1804 and made a diary of his experience there.

San Fernando, between San Buenaventura and San Gabriel, was the last foundation of the year. It was established in September, on the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, and Dumetz, one of Serra's first colleagues, was its administrator. The southern missions sent three hundred cattle and five hundred sheep, which, twenty years later, had increased to thirteen thousand of the former and ten of the latter. Cultivation was also successful and the mis-

sion harvested twelve hundred bushels in its second year. Before the mission was founded its site had been occupied by a private soldier, Reyes, for stock raising. He was assigned another tract and required to move by Governor Borica.

The Indians around San Fernando were all peaceful. About fifty joined the mission during its first year and its population was over three hundred at the close of the century. A remarkable movement for conversion was noted the year of Father Lasuen's death when three hundred and sixty gentiles asked for baptism.

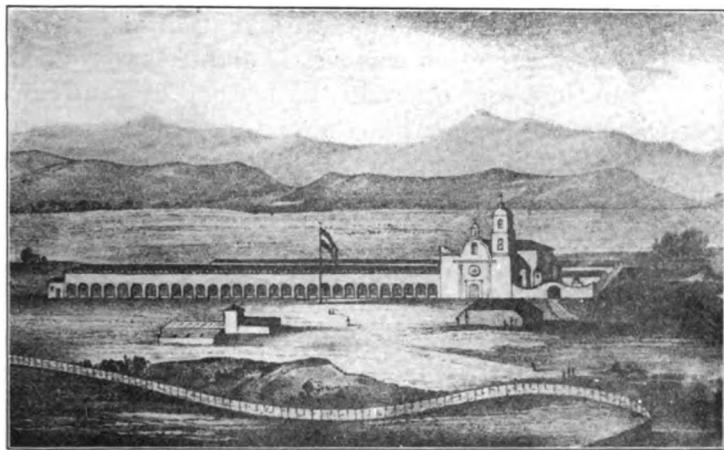
The chain of missions projected by Serra was now complete from Capistrano to San Francisco. The whole stretch of the coast road had establishments at each day's rapid journey. Any mission could be reached from its neighbor in a day on horseback. The only exception was San Diego and it was brought under the condition of the others by the next foundation, the last of Father Lasuen's, which was next made.

Its site was fixed after considerable examination by Lasuen, himself. His choice was decided by the large population adjoining the site, as the land did not seem as good as in other localities. Borica and he concurred in the selection and a party of soldiers from San Diego was sent to help in erecting the buildings in June, 1798.

The charge of San Luis Rey was given to Father Peyri, who by an unusual fortune, continued to direct it for thirty-three years. Fray Jose Faura, his assistant, only remained two. Fifty-four children were baptized the first day and within two years the number of baptisms reached three hundred and seventy.

Under Peyri's administration, despite its disadvantages of soil, San Luis Rey grew steadily in population and material prosperity. In 1800 cattle and horses were six hundred and sheep sixteen hundred. The wheat harvest gave two thousand bushels, but corn and beans were failures and barley only gave a hundred and twenty fanegas.

Ten years later eleven thousand fanegas of all kinds of grain were gathered as a crop. Cattle had grown to ten thousand five hundred and sheep and hogs to nearly ten thousand. The Indians had increased from three to fifteen hundred. Fourteen hundred and fifty had been baptised while there had been only four hundred deaths recorded. By 1826 the first mission counted nearly three thousand Christian Indians and nearly a thousand were gathered at Pala, six leagues from the central establishment. A church was built there and a priest usually resided at it. At its best time San Luis Rey counted nearly thirty thousand cattle, as many sheep and over two thousand horses as the property of its three thousand Indians. Its average grain crop was about thirteen thou-



SAN LUIS REY IN OLD DAYS

sand bushels. San Gabriel surpassed it in farming prosperity with a crop which reached thirty thousand bushels in a year, but in population, in live stock, in the low death rate among its Indians and in the character of its church and buildings, San Luis Rey continued to the end first among the Franciscan missions.

It was the last foundation made by Father Lasuen and



practically completed the expansion of the missions of California. There were forty priests engaged in them in 1800 and that number was not afterwards increased. It was only thirty-eight in 1810 and thirty-seven in 1820. The projected line of establishments through the Tulare and Sacramento valleys was not carried out because there were not missionaries available. The supply was cut off by the wars in which Spain, itself, was engaged through the stormy times of Napoleon and the Peninsular war. The Spanish Franciscans already in California were all needed by the existing missions. They made conversions by thousands, built up prosperous communities of natives and made explorations, but they could not extend the area occupied by Serra and Lasuen.

The latter, despite his years, continued to govern the missions for five years after the foundation of San Luis Rey. His administration was nearly eighteen years duration, longer than any other in the history of California. There was no biographer, like Palou, to tell the story of his life and death, but his energy, firmness of character and saintliness of life are attested by his work, and by the letters and reports of his own, preserved in the Mexican records. The English Vancouver, though he little favored either the profession or nationality of Lasuen, declared, "His gentle manners and most venerable and placid face showed the tranquilized mind that eminently fitted him to preside over so benevolent an institution." The French explorer, La Perouse, though little disposed to praise friars, noted Lasuen as a model missionary in every respect and the Protestant Bancroft, whose opportunities of examining all the records of the time were unequalled, pronounces him the equal of Serra in devotion and disinterestedness and his superior in tact and administrative ability.

Father Lasuen died in 1803, at the age of eighty-three, and was buried with Father Serra in the Church at Carmel. His brethren noted a resemblance between the two

Presidents, in the fact that the years marked by the death of each were the most productive of conversions of any in the history of California. At Santa Barbara in the year of Lasuen's death no less than eight hundred converts were enrolled. It was the largest number ever recorded at a single mission.

## CHAPTER XI

### GOVERNOR BORICA

While Serra and Lasuen were forming the Indian missions of California, seven military Governors ruled the country as representatives of the King. Three had the grade of Captain and four that of Lieutenant-Colonel. Fages, indeed, during his first term was only a Lieutenant and the force under him only numbered sixty. It had been gradually raised to nearly four hundred, including twelve officers, at the close of the century. Including the settlers in the pueblos and the numerous families of the soldiers the white population then was about twelve hundred, that of Christian Indians, about fourteen thousand.

The European population was the chief field of activity for the Governors, especially after the failure of Neve's attempt to get the missions under direct military control. Fages looked after the pueblos and presidios with a fatherly attention to their citizens nearly like that of the Franciscan administrators to their converts. The corporals at San Jose and Los Angeles had to look after the morals of the settlers with considerable strictness, and as with the Indians in the missions, the main object of the Governor in the pueblos was to keep the citizens to useful work. Settlers who neglected that duty were punished with the stocks or by having to wear leg irons, as the lazy in the missions were caned by the administrators. Wandering away from the pueblos, too, was as strictly prohibited as desertion from the missions. The punishments inflicted in either case, however, were not severe. The white men were not flogged but put in chains or locked up in the guard house. Unlike the English and German services, flogging of soldiers was not practiced by the Spanish officers. As a general rule both the pueblo cor-

porals and the friars had to recover runaways by their own resources. Nearly all the Governors forbade the soldiers, even those of the mission guards, from capturing fugitives. The priests usually sent other converts after them or induced outside Indians to return them. It was only on some rare occasions when trouble was threatened among the gentile population that the military were sent to round up mission runaways and bring them home. Apart from the more serious interference attempted by Neve in the management of the missions, there were some mutual criticisms by the military officers and the Franciscans of each other's work as public instructors. Governor Fages thought the Indians got too much meat and horse riding. Father Lasuen retorted that cards and guitar playing were the chief arts of civilization practiced in the pueblos. Somewhat later when Borica desired some mission Indians to be sent to learn trades from the mechanics at the Monterey presidio, the administrator at San Carlos expressed fears that his wards would be injured by the bad example of the soldiers there, and also by the loss of religious instruction. The Governor compromised by appointing a soldier of steady habits to look after the latter and the general behavior of the apprentices.

A more curious criticism of the friars was made by a military officer who complained to the Governor that the latter were giving more attention to the Indians than to the spiritual needs of the Spaniards. He "had so many of his soldiers under arrest for ignorance of the catechism that he was afraid there would not be enough out for guard duty." A somewhat similar complaint from the corporal at San Jose to Lieutenant Sal was answered by a military order, "to give the soldier, Tobar, fifteen days to make his confession, and if not made then, to send him to Monterey." Another corporal, Peralta, was directed to put any soldier who had not made his Easter duty under arrest till he did, and especially to put hand shackles on Roman the tailor till he complied with the church law. A curious

case of sanctuary taking at Monterey recalls Rivera's trouble. A soldier struck an Indian woman and thought it best to take refuge in the church to escape arrest. His corporal objected as the culprit was needed for guard duty immediately. Father Lasuen settled the case by giving the latter a certificate of right to be returned to the church when his military duty was finished.

The paternal spirit of the Spanish Governors extended to the soldiers as well as other classes. When Ensign Lasso, a poor accountant but honest man, had a deficiency in his store accounts as paymaster, he was ordered by the Mexican authorities to receive only twenty-five cents a day till the shortage was made up and then was retired. Captain Arrillaga, in Loretto, exerted himself successfully to have him allowed half pay, and the Governor wrote his own cordial thanks. "Our poor Lasso has got his half pay, thanks to you and may God reward you," was the Colonel's comment. He had, meantime, given the ensign employment as a school teacher at San Francisco.

The good feeling between most of the Spanish officers in California was remarkable. The teasing of Rivera by Fages, already mentioned, was the chief exception and a quarrel between two young lieutenants in which one knocked the other down. The quarrel in the last case was ended by the personal interference of Governor Arrillaga who made the belligerents shake hands and reported the affair to headquarters as only the effect of "hot young blood." Between other Governors and their subordinates and successors, the relations were very cordial. Neve congratulated Fages warmly on his promotion and the latter was still more cordial to Romieu. He closed his congratulations by making over his furniture and private garden as a free gift. "You will find all the furniture you need in the house, and the garden and orchard planted by myself, with over six hundred trees. I have also raised a stock of sheep and goats all of which I hope you will long enjoy." The letter shows a favorable side of the hot tempered

Governor's character which is confirmed by the reception he gave to La Perouse and which was recorded by the latter.

The French explorer's visit to Monterey in 1786, gave a contemporary outside view of the Spanish administration and the mission work in California then. He had orders from the Spanish Court for a friendly reception in all ports under its jurisdiction, and Fages obeyed them punctually. He showed a personal generosity and courtesy which enchanted La Perouse. All the country could supply was given the visitors without charge or at merely nominal rates. Governor, soldiers and friars showed equal good will to the foreigners. "The soldiers had rendered us countless small services, so I asked to be let send them a donation of blue cloth, and I sent some blankets and tools to the mission. The President told the Indians this was a gift from the allies of Spain, which so wrought them up that next day every Indian brought a bundle of hay for the use of our cattle."

La Perouse, though a professed Catholic, was strongly imbued with the ideas of human nature and its natural perfectibility then made fashionable among the French courtiers by the Social Contract of Rousseau. Religion he regarded with well-bred tolerance but no more. He thought "missionary efforts were directed wholly to the rewards of another life and disregarded the interests of the present one," and spoke with measured disdain of the "laziness" of friars he had met in Chile. He had other ideas from the Spanish friars on the objects of civilization and how they might be attained. "As a friend of humanity rather than a theologian I should have liked to see the principles of Christianity joined to a legislation that would gradually make citizens of men whose present condition is hardly different from the negroes in our own colonies where ruled with most humanity. The friars have neglected to bring the common arts of civilized life."

The inaccuracy of the two last assertions is self-evident.

The arts of cultivation of the ground, house building and clothing are certainly among the "common arts" and they had been unknown to the natives of California till introduced by the friars. A comparison of the "Black Code" of the French West Indies with the Spanish "Laws of the Indies," disposes of the first statement. The purchase of human beings as slaves, and the prohibition of marriage between the two races were principles of the first distinctly repudiated by the Spanish legislation, so lightly sneered at by the voyager.

The disgust felt by the French philanthropist for the natives as "exceptionally low in the scale of intelligence" is in curious contrast to the enthusiasm over their possible capabilities expressed in the diaries of Serra and Crespi. It adds to the oddity that, at the same time with this low estimate of the intelligence of the Californians, he criticised the priests for "treating them too much like children and too little like men." For himself "though not a theologian, he thought the spread of the Faith would be more rapid, and the prayers of the Indians more acceptable to the Supreme Being if they were unconstrained." Still he added, "I fully understand that the Indians have few ideas and less stability of mind and that if they are not treated as children they will run away from their teachers. Reasoning alone has no force on these childish minds, which can only be wakened up through the senses. Bodily chastisements and rewards at the present time, are the only possible means to gain their attention."

After this judicial summing up of principles, the philosophic voyager drew his own conclusion of the proper methods to civilize, in language that has a curious likeness to the program of De Croix for the Colorado establishments. "It might be possible, for ardent zeal and boundless patience to make a few families realize the advantages of civilized life and the use of property." On the fate of the other Indians, of course, in the meantime the phil-

osophy of La Perouse had nothing to suggest. The spirit of his remarks adds remarkable weight to the character he gives the friars of California.

“I do not hesitate to affirm that purely human motives are unequal to such a task. Only the promises of religion, and its enthusiasm can make men bear the sacrifice, the weariness and the dangers of such a life. It is with deep pleasure I describe the prudent and pious conduct of these friars who fill so perfectly the duties of their institute. So strict are they towards themselves that even in the coldest winter not one has a fire in his room, and no hermit has ever led a more perfect life. I would only wish for a little more Philosophy, in those austere, kindly and religious men whom I have found in those missions.”

An extension of the Spanish territory on the northern shores of the Pacific was attempted during the governorship of Fages. The naval power of Spain was greater than it had ever been before, during the period between the war of American Independence and the French Revolution. The ministers of Charles III. profited by it to occupy the coasts explored by Ezeta and Bodega some years before, and a post was established at Nootka Sound in 1790, as Galvez had founded that of Monterey twenty years earlier. The force sent was larger than that originally employed in California and with the improved conditions of the navy, communications were much easier to maintain. The prize was the whole of Oregon, Washington and the Coast of British Columbia, a territory equal in value to California. The Spanish ministry did not think of asking missionaries to take a share in the latter work. Chaplains were provided for the troops but no more. Father Catalá of Santa Clara was one of the priests employed in this duty, but not as a missionary. The settlement took no root. Disputes over a part of the territory were raised by the British Government, and after five years the ministers of Charles IV. abandoned the post and sent the garrison of seventy-five men to strength-



en the Californian posts. One of the vessels employed on the Nootka Sound expedition was commanded by a namesake of the late Archbishop Kendrick, who was described as an American. On his visit to California he obtained the services of one of the friars as chaplain after considerable persuasion of the Governor and Father Lasuen.

Colonel Romieu succeeded Fages in 1791, but his health was impaired and he died at Monterey the next year. During that time, however, he aided in founding the missions of Soledad and Santa Cruz, and worked with diligence in inspecting all the posts from Loretto to San Francisco. He received the Spanish explorer, Malaspina, at Monterey after his arrival there, and one of the gunners on the vessel was the first man from the United States to be buried in California. His name was given as John Groem (Graeme) son of John and Catherine Groem, Presbyterians of Boston. The next mention of Americans is found two years later in the register of Soledad. A Nootka Indian baptized there was described as "son of Taquas-miki, a gentile, killed in 1789, by the American Captain Gret of the ship Washington.

Governor Romieu's death was unexpected and it was more than a year before his successor was named by the Mexican Viceroy. The Marquis de Revilla Gigedo, a man of high intelligence and energy, was then in office. He summed up tersely his requirements for a Californian Governor before making the choice. "He must have ability, military knowledge and experience, health equal to the greatest hardships, prudence, disinterestedness, energy and zeal." These qualifications after deliberation, the Viceroy believed he found in the Inspector-General of Chihuahua, Lieutenant-Colonel Borica. His commission as Governor was issued early in 1794, and in November he reached Monterey.

The province, meanwhile, had been under the rule of Captain Arrillaga, Romieu's assistant Governor for Lower California. Until Arrillaga's arrival in Monte-

rey a year after Romieu's death, the four captains of the presidios exercised joint authority as a military board. During this period, in November, 1792, two English naval vessels under command of Vancouver, entered San Francisco Bay. The commander had been sent to arrange the dispute between the Spanish and English Governments about the territory near Nootka Sound in company with two Spanish vessels under Captain Bodega. No conclusion could be reached and the two squadrons returned south in friendly company.



PUEBLO OF MONTEREY

Vancouver's visit, like that of La Perouse, has left on record an interesting glimpse of ways in old California. The Captain published his voyage after his return to England. Arguello, the post Captain at San Francisco, received him, he states, with unbounded hospitality. Everything in the district was furnished on request to the foreigners, and the Spanish officer's unwillingness to accept pay for most of the supplies excited much surprise in Vancouver. He used, he admits, the unsuspecting courtesy of his host to get admittance to the defences of the port, and to visit and spy out the resources of the country, with a keen eye to its possible seizure in the not unlikely event of a war of England with Spain. He made a visit to Santa

Clara Mission under the guidance of Lieutenant Sal and noted the abundant supplies of cattle and crops developed there by the labors of the Franciscans and their converts. The oak studded plains between San Mateo and Mountain View reminded the visitor of the parks of his native land. After leaving San Francisco with his vessels Vancouver brought them to Monterey where he was received with equal liberality. The post Captain, the mission President, and Captain Bodega were equally friendly and liberal towards the strangers. Their commander availed himself of the chance to visit Santa Barbara and other southern ports, and then returned to Monterey for more supplies and for further examination.

Governor Arrillaga had reached the capital meanwhile and showed no inclination to allow further spying. He furnished supplies readily, but absolutely forbade any excursions into the country or inspection of the presidio to the English officers and sailors. Vancouver in his "voyage" expressed himself bitterly on what he called the churlishness of the Spanish Governor in carrying out his official duty, and contrasted it unfavorably with the unsuspicious liberality of the post Captains. He noted at the same time that the Spanish forts and soldiers "were incapable of resistance against foreign invasion, an event by no means improbable," and dwelt on the abundant provisions that invaders might find in the defenceless missions. Incidentally he paid a curious tribute to the employment of moral force instead of violence by the Spanish authorities, and to their indifference to profit from the taxation of their Indian subjects. "The Spanish monarchy keeps this extent of country under the authority of a force so small that, had we not seen it ourselves, we would have hardly believed it possible for so small a body of men to keep the natives of this country under rule without resorting to harsh or unjustifiable methods. It is a mystery in State policy why such a territory should have been thus subjugated and after all the expense and labor

of its colonization turned to no account whatever" for its government.

It was, indeed, a mystery to an Anglo-Saxon official why the interests of savages should be promoted by a government at its own cost. Nothing of the kind had ever been charged to the government of his own land. The natives, themselves, he thought, the "most miserable class of humanity he had ever seen," though well cared for by the friars. He was struck, however, by the strong attachment of the miserable Indians to their teachers. At Santa Barbara the natives showed a suspicion of the English visitors, and Father Santa Maria, their priest, tried to break it down by going on Vancouver's ship to Santa Buenaventura. There he was received by an excited crowd of converts with demonstrations of the most sincere joy. Of Father Lasuen, Vancouver spoke in terms as enthusiastic as those of La Perouse. He gave the names of Point Firmin and Point Lasuen to two headlands on the Southern Coast. They are the only names of actual friars imprinted on the map of California today, and were given by one not of their own race or faith. Vancouver planted his own name on the island discovered by the countryman of Junipero Serra, Captain Perez.

The British captain's remarks on the agricultural wealth of the missions and the ease with which they could be raided, recall the remark of Marshal Blucher on his reception in London. "Himmel, what a city to sack." His criticism of the Spanish Government for drawing no revenue from its Californian colony is thoroughly Anglo-Saxon. It is hardly consistent, however, with the charges of official rapacity so freely made against the Spanish administration in its colonies, even by writers of the standing of Lecky or Parkman. Missions were exempted from taxation by the general colonial laws of Spain, and there was little else to draw revenue from in California.

Taxes, indeed, were levied on the settlers by the general Government, but their amount was merely nominal.

Their collection was one of the duties of the paymasters, and the chief item the sale of tobacco and snuff, which was a Government monopoly and returned about six thousand dollars annually. A poll tax of a bushel of grain and a tithe of from ten to twenty cents a head on cattle were about the only other imposts. The cost of the garrison in California to the Spanish Government was about ten times the taxes collected. On extraordinary occasions appeals were made by the Viceroy for donations to the Government in war times. About four thousand dollars were thus collected by Neve during the war between England and Spain, and nearly the same amount by Borica ten years later. The Governor headed the list with a donation of two thousand dollars on the first occasion, and Borica gave a thousand to the second contribution. It was a common practice in Mexico to ask the public for similar gifts in national emergencies, as the imposition of taxes seemed never to be thought of as a prerogative of the crown. Loans were often made by wealthy Mexicans to the treasury without interest, when asked for by a popular Viceroy like Bucareli or Revilla Gigedo. The former in his instructions to his successor dwelt on the importance of repaying such advances promptly, and their use for the public service.

One attempt to raise revenue without burden to either settlers or Indians was made by the Viceroys of Mexico in old California. It was to declare the skins of the sea otter and seal, both then abundant along the coasts, a Government monopoly. They were to be delivered to the officers exclusively, at a fixed price by native hunters, and shipped in Government vessels to Manila for sale. It does not appear that the profits of this plan, which was first put in force under Fages, proved large, though about a hundred thousand dollars' worth of peltries were delivered to the paymasters during some years. The withdrawal of the Spanish naval vessels from the Pacific during the war with England at the close of the century seems

to have been the chief reason for giving up the attempt. It also left the Governors of California entirely without vessels to attempt any northern settlements beyond the Bay.

An attempt to increase the population of California made by Revilla Gigedo merits mention in this connection. The Viceroy sent twenty orphans from the foundling hospital in the Mexican capital to be adopted by settlers in California under supervision of the Governor. They were furnished with clothing and carried to Monterey, at a cost of nearly five thousand dollars to the Mexican treasury. The British Government at the same time was transporting convicts to Australia at a rate of eighty dollars a head by contract. The price was only paid on the delivery of the persons transported in Sydney, and on one voyage where the mortality during the voyage was large, the contractor refused to let the dead bodies be removed until landing.

An incident of Vancouver's visit to San Francisco was the desertion of several of his sailors. Five were found by the Spanish officers after Vancouver had left. Three claimed that they had deserted because they were forbidden by their officers to attend mass while the vessels were in port, although they were Catholics. The other two were not Catholics but declared they desired to be received into the church. Arrillaga considered himself bound in honor to return them to their captain, and after supporting the five for a year he returned the two Protestant sailors to Vancouver. The three Catholics he did not feel bound to return to a service which refused them the exercise of their religion, and they were given work on the San Blas packets.

Governor Borica came to Monterey in the close of 1794, traveling there from Loretto by land. He met Arrillaga at Capistrano and received from him the usual statement of affairs given by each Governor to his successor. The relations were intimate between Arrillaga and Borica all

through. The temper of the new Governor was expressed in the private and official letters preserved by Bancroft. Though a man of much culture and a personal friend of the Viceroy, Revilla Gigedo, Borica entered heartily into the rude life of his distant province. At Loretto he spent two months, "filling more offices than Sancho Panza on his island." From Monterey he wrote to a friend. "This is a great country, healthy climate, neither hot nor cold, good bread, good meat, fair fish and good humor which is worth all the rest together. It is the most peaceful and quiet country on earth and we live better here than in any court of Europe." Borica's wife and daughter accompanied him, and shared his cheery feelings. Senora Borica was better pleased with California than the wife of Colonel Fages had been.

The Governor found enough to occupy him even in "the most quiet country on earth." He looked carefully into the military posts and put them into good order. The fortifications at Monterey, which had been noted so unfavorably by Vancouver, were strengthened and supplied with new guns and other precautions taken against the foreign invasion which Vancouver anticipated. War broke out between France and Spain a couple of years before Borica's arrival in California, and Spain was also in hostilities with England before the close of his term, so precautions for defence were needed. The Colonel of Engineers, Costanzo, who had come with Portola in 1769, made an inspection of the forts the year of Borica's arrival. He reported the little use of expensive fortifications in so isolated a country and declared that the only course to follow in case of an attack by sea was to withdraw the population and cattle to the interior. Fortunately the attack apprehended was never made, and Borica was left free to develop the growth of California peacefully with the limited resources at his command. Two free contributions were made to the treasury during his term, the Governor on each occasion giving a thousand dollars, and the rest

of the population about three thousand. Strict orders were published against the landing of foreigners in the country, though ships were allowed to get supplies if needed. A vessel from Calcutta touched at Santa Barbara in 1795, the first English merchantman to visit California. Her Captain left a boy with the Commandant there, who desired to stay and "become a Christian." He was described in the archives curiously: "This Englishman is a native of Ireland, and his parents live in Boston. His name is Joseph O'Cain." He was probably the first Irishman to land in California, unless the American, John Kendrick, who commanded a Spanish vessel from Nootka the year before was an exception, or Vancouver's Catholic sailors.

The first American vessel to touch at Monterey arrived the next year. It was the *Otter* of Boston, commanded by Ebenezer Dorr, and bearing a "passport from General Washington, vised by the Spanish Consul at Charlestown." She was freely supplied with wood and water by the Spaniards, but her Captain's request to be let leave ten English sailors was refused. They were really convicts from Botany Bay, who had boarded the vessel by force and whom Dorr wanted to be rid of. When permission to leave them was refused, he landed them by night and sailed away. His ship had been freely supplied by the Spanish authorities, and the Governor thought the Captain's action dishonorable. The convicts were put to work at twenty cents a day, until the Governor could get directions from the Viceroy what to do with them. After a few months of good behavior, Borica was willing to have them remain as settlers, but the Viceroy ordered them to be sent back to Europe. The treatment accorded the English convicts in Spanish California was very different from that of the British officials in Australia at the time.

A third pueblo near Santa Cruz, named Branciforte after the Viceroy who succeeded Revilla Gigedo, was one of the tasks undertaken by Borica. He suggested its foun-



dation the first year of his term, and described the kind of settlers he thought needed. They ought to be farmers, from some temperate climate, or mechanics. Carpenters, smiths, stone masons, tile makers, tailors, tanners and shoemakers were those of the latter class most wanted. The Governor also desired to begin whaling at Monterey, and desired some sailors used to such work and ship carpenters. The Mexican Council approved his plans, but found them hard to fill. The desired class of immigrants was not to be found. Nine settlers were at last recruited in Guadalajara, mostly of European race, but with few other qualifications. Borica had his suspicions that the Guadalajara municipality had taken the chance to get rid of its loafers as settlers. However, he gave them lots and built cabins in the new pueblo in 1797, and issued them rations for the next five years, besides tools and livestock. He added a few retired soldiers two years afterwards, and by the last year of the century Branciforte had a Spanish population of sixty. They raised a thousand bushels of grain that year, and had five hundred cattle, but the colony was much behind either Los Angeles or San Jose. The character of its first settlers remained with Branciforte all through its history.

Borica's paternal care for the new pueblo was not unlike that of the padres for their Indian converts. He instructed Corporal Moraga, the Chief of the pueblo guard, "to show the Guadalajara people how to farm and cure their natural laziness," and he further bade him "treat them kindly, but punish offences and downright idleness." He was specifically told to allow no pleasure trips to San Jose, and to put two reported absentees to work in chains, whenever he caught them. In other dispatches Borica told the Corporal to report on the state of clothing in the colony and note its deficiencies, and gave him power to purchase corn and beans for the support of the settlers. The severest punishment meted out to the lazy colonists was the stoppage of the tobacco which had been furnished them by

the Government for three years. The Governor decided that if they would not work they should not smoke, and he regretfully reported them to the Viceroy as a "scandal to the country." One wonders whether, if de Croix had an experience like Branciforte, he would have been so confident of the civilizing power of European settlements in teaching savages the value of labor.

The growth of the missions under Borica's rule has already been mentioned, but he earnestly desired a much greater extension of them. He advised two or more parallel lines of missions inland, and military posts in the Tulare and Sacramento Valleys. The want of priests prevented the execution of these plans. Borica meddled little in the internal management of the existing missions, but he required that native *alcaldes* and *regidores* should be yearly elected in each, and Father Lasuen at once accepted the suggestion. The Governor gave a more useful aid by bringing mechanics of various kinds from Mexico as trade instructors, both for the Indians and the Spanish Californians. Among them were "masons, carpenters, millwrights, weavers, tanners, blacksmiths, saddlers, shoemakers and tailors. Their pay was liberal, some receiving a thousand dollars annually, and the others from three to five hundred. These were about the salaries of Captains and sub-lieutenants at the time in California. The result was satisfactory, at least among the mission Indians, and before the close of Borica's life, weaving, tanning, leather work, and pottery were manufactured in most missions, and flour mills running at three or four.

Schools were also an object of his special attention. Sergeant Vargas got one at San Jose, and Ensign Lasso another. A certain Jose Toca, who had come as a deck-hand from San Blas, was allowed a hundred and twenty-five dollars a year to keep school at Santa Barbara, where the soldiers were taught as well as the children. Corporal Boronda taught free at San Francisco, and the soldier Rodriguez did the same at Monterey. Colonel Borica, the

correspondent of the Viceroy, required periodical reports from all the schools, and even examined the copybooks of the pupils himself.

To other matters Borica gave an attention which would hardly be looked for from a soldier. He promoted the cultivation of hemp in his province, and built up a considerable export to Mexico. He also encouraged sheep raising and the manufacture of cloth. Sheep were distributed among the settlers at Los Angeles, to be paid for in grain, and permits to graze on the public lands were granted for sheep only.

A curious part of Borica's paternal activity was his efforts to promote matrimony among the settlers. Soldiers who wanted to marry were allowed advances of forty dollars, and the Governor did not think it below his attention to write to a commandant "to get, if possible, the widow Ortega to stay in the country, as she was sure to get an offer sooner or later." The unmarried members among the settlers from Guadalajara gave him the most occupation. They were willing to take Indian wives, but the padres at the missions had doubts of their character, and would not allow the proposed alliances. Borica wrote to the Viceroy to help him out by a shipment of unmarried women of good character. A hundred were wanted and could find homes in California if of the right kind. They should be "strong young women with good clothes, so that they could go to Church regularly and get the benefit of instruction there. Each should have a serge skirt, a linen jacket, a mantilla and a pair of shoes and stockings." The Viceroy gravely answered that he had given orders to seek the desired immigrants, but that the class was hard to find.

Borica's attention to public morals was not limited to the Branciforte settlers. The liquor traffic was regulated sufficiently in Monterey. The sergeant storekeeper, who alone had brandy to sell was only to sell any individual two reales' worth in the morning and one more in the

evening of each day. The buyer further had to drink his aguadiente on the premises. Card playing was also kept within bounds by ordinance. It needed a formal permit from the Governor to allow the pueblo citizens to play the game "Mallilla" on Sundays in the guardhouse at San Jose. The settlers were only allowed the use of cards in their own homes on festivals and Sundays. It was apparently not carried out with undue severity, for one of the Franciscans complained that the citizens of the pueblo neglected their work for cards and guitar playing.

The military training of most Spanish Californians made this regulation of their actions seem natural, and there was no grumbling recorded. The punishments inflicted were not severe. Handcuffing, a few hours in the stocks, or work at the presidios were the usual chastisements. There was an execution of a settler at Santa Barbara for murder in Borica's time, but Indians convicted of similar offences were let off with flogging, or a few years at the presidios. Such was the sentence even on the assassins of one of the priests. A noteworthy incident in the early records was the trial of an Indian woman for killing another in the Santa Clara Mission. The assailant gave as an excuse that the slain woman had irritated her by talking about her dead daughter. The public prosecutor only asked as penalty that the assassin should be kept in shackles for five years. He held that the peculiar Indian notion which forbade public mention of deceased relatives in presence of their families, was an extenuating circumstance, coupled with the want of premeditation. It is rarely that foreign officials show like consideration for the prejudices of savages.

The dealings of the Governor and his officers with the Indians, as judges, were almost wholly restricted to those of the missions. The gentiles were left to manage their affairs in their own fashion. The use of force to bring them to the missions or pueblos was strictly forbidden. A good many hired themselves to the settlers and officers

for temporary work. They were paid in grain, meat and blankets, and were free to return to their rancherias when their contracts were finished.

Hostilities with the natives were almost unknown during the rule of either Fages or Borica. Near San Diego, under Fages, a party attacked some soldiers while prospecting, and killed two. No retaliation was made. Under Borica, in 1795, a party of Christian Indians from San Francisco was attacked by gentiles on the other side of the Bay, and some killed, but the Governor thought it better to let the matter pass as an ordinary tribal quarrel. Two years later a similar occurrence happened, and then Sergeant Amador was sent with some men to punish the attacking tribe. They offered battle, and eight or ten were killed and nine brought in as prisoners to work some time at the presidio. The next year another tribe raided a rancheria near San Juan Bautista, and killed eight Indians. The sergeant went after them, killed a Chief and took four prisoners. Two years later, for a like outbreak, Sergeant Moraga captured fourteen warriors without loss of life. The same year Sergeant Amador of Santa Clara went to the hills, killed a chief and disarmed a hostile rancheria. These were almost the only Indian hostilities in California during the last decade of the eighteenth century. Few lands where Europeans dwelt among a savage race have similar records.

## CHAPTER XII

### FRANCISCAN METHODS IN CALIFORNIA

A peculiar, though quite intelligible incident, caused a searching official investigation of the mission methods used in California at the close of the eighteenth century. A Mexican Franciscan, of high reputation for learning, volunteered for mission service there under the presidency of Father Lasuen. He was assigned to San Miguel, one of the missions founded in 1797, in the bare Salinas plains. The loneliness of the situation proved too much of a strain on Father Horra's mind, and he showed eccentricities in a few weeks, which made his superior ask his removal. Lasuén sent him quietly back to the College, without making any public statement of the cause, which he only gave privately to the Guardian. He believed the aberrations of the friar to be only temporary, and that they would disappear with return to his native land. He did not wish to mar his future utility there by a brand of insanity, even temporary.

Horra's eccentricity, however, continued, though he veiled its manifestations with insane cunning. After his return he communicated, under veil of secrecy, some remarkable revelations of his own fancying, concerning the Franciscan mission methods in California, to the Viceroy Branciforte. He complained of personal persecution of himself by both Father Lasuen and the College authorities, and alleged as its cause his own opposition to abuses existing among his brethren in California, which he had remonstrated against. The abuses were mainly ill treatment of the native converts by the Franciscan administrators. They neglected their instruction in Spanish, a matter required by the civil law, and they used great severity in the management of the Indian laborers. In

fact, Horra assured the Viceroy that "the treatment of the Indians in California was the most barbarous he had ever read of in history. They were flogged, chained and put in stocks for the most trifling acts, and often kept in the latter whole days without a drink of water."

The particulars given in the complaint hardly bore out the excited rhetoric of the writer, but as coming from a priest of good reputation in Mexico, the Viceroy thought fit to order Governor Borica to investigate them thoroughly, without any notice to the Franciscans themselves. He was desired to get private reports on the alleged cruelties from each of the district commandants, and forward them with his own views. The Governor obeyed orders, and the series of reports were delivered to Branciforte in 1799. He forwarded them to the Guardian of San Fernando, and requested an explanation of them. The Guardian had to refer the matter to the missionaries in California, a tedious process in those days. Father Lasuen was taken by surprise at the nature of the charges, not less than their authorship. He communicated with all his subordinates, and investigated all particular complaints of officers and Indians. He further required detailed accounts of the actual work, and discipline at each of the eighteen missions. When these were complete, he embodied them in a report of his own, which he submitted to the Mexican authorities in 1801. Though the Franciscan President was in his eightieth year when he wrote his report, Bancroft does not hesitate to call it "the most complete and eloquent defence and statement of the mission system, in many of its phases, now extant."

The army officers seem to have taken the Viceroy's orders in the spirit of public prosecutors, rather than impartial witnesses. They privately took complaints from dissatisfied Indians and soldiers, and forwarded them without comment on their value, and they added criticisms of their own on various points of the mission discipline, with little mention of reasons for the practices they criticised.

Borica personally had nothing to say against the friars or their methods, but some of his subordinates showed an unfriendly feeling towards both, which evidently prejudiced their testimony. The Mexican Attorney-General, on reading Borica's report, gave an intelligent reason for this feeling, which was manifest to himself. "There was a natural conflict of interests between the priests and post officers in California, as the latter had to purchase supplies from the former, and were liable to consider careful management of the missions and strict accounting as meanness or spite on the part of the administrators. The soldiers, too, were liable to quarrel with the natives, and gave punishments which the friars often thought needlessly severe."

The charges made by the officers, however, were in themselves singularly trivial, and most of them were of a kind which could be made equally for or against the practices criticised. Lieutenants Sal and Goycoechea thought the allowance of food given at some missions was insufficient in quantity, and that many of the converts were allowed to live in huts of the old native fashion. Governor Fages, a few years earlier, had complained that the converts got too much meat, and Neve had forbidden that the natives at the Channel should be let change from their old dwellings. No comments were made by any officer on the clothing of the mission Indians. On the alleged cruelties, they confined themselves to the statement that offenders against the mission regulations "were punished by the stocks, the imposition of chains, whipping and confinement in rooms." The same were in use in the Spanish pueblos, and indeed in every civilized country at the time. A couple of officers further gave it as their opinion that the friars must have accumulated considerable funds at some missions, though they did not give any reasons beyond personal belief.

Lasuen's answer to the report was dignified and logical. It was marked by a calm statement of facts and reasons,



in favorable contrast with the tone of his military critics. The statement that the Indians were underfed, he met by giving the daily bill of fare of the workmen at the missions, which was much better, both in quantity and quality, than that of any European peasantry. The supposed wealth accumulated, he declared to have no existence, and he pointed out the impossibility of its accumulation, even if the friars wished it. There was no market for surplus crops or stock in California from which money could be drawn. The only sales were those to the military paymasters themselves, and they were paid for in goods for the natives, ordered through the paymasters and brought from San Blas on the transports. The very salaries allowed the administrators from the Pious Fund were paid in mission goods in the same fashion. Lasuen pointed out that the consignments from San Blas, the year in which he wrote, for tools, clothing and church furniture, showed an amount eleven dollars above the salaries of the friars, and the paymasters' orders on account of purchases from the missions. Where, he asked, were the friars to find the money which the officers supposed accumulated in their missions.

The aged missionary showed some feeling in speaking of the grounds of the indictment he was called to answer, and the prejudice shown by some of the officers among whom he had been so long dwelling in friendly intercourse. He blamed their suppression of facts more than their actual charges. They took complaints of natives, without any investigation of their accuracy, and allowed petty disputes over prices or employment of mission Indians at their posts to blind their own minds. The character of the original complainant as a lunatic was also pointed out, and Lasuen asked was it reasonable to give acceptance to such a witness. He believed that a gross wrong had been done to the body to which he belonged, but he was not drawn into any extravagant eulogy. He merely gave details of the methods used by his own Fran-

ciscans, in which he had employed the last thirty years of his life at a distance from native land, friends and community life. They were the best answer to the charges of Father Horra.

The population in the eighteen missions, when Lasuen wrote his vindication, was about fifteen thousand native Christians. San Diego had fifteen hundred, and was the largest in population, though not in development of resources. Santa Clara came next, with twelve hundred, and San Gabriel, San Juan Capistrano and San Antonio about eleven hundred each. San Carlos of Monterey had only little over eight hundred, and San Luis Obispo, La Purissima and Santa Barbara, each much the same. In San Diego and Santa Barbara many converts were living away from the churches and following their old ways of support. In the others most of the Christians were collected in villages around the Church and priests' house, and supported themselves by farming and stock raising.

The settled natives were called to work regularly at daybreak by the church bells, and the whole population then attended mass, recited morning prayers and the short catechism, and received a brief instruction. Breakfast was then given to the residents within the mission buildings, and portions distributed to each family which had its own dwelling. These carried the food to their huts and ate it there with whatever addition of roots or berries they had gathered in their leisure time. After breakfast the regular day's work began. The vaqueros mounted and rode off to look after the cattle, the farm hands went to plow or reap, and the others to the different workshops or to the tanneries or soap boiling houses. One of the priests went with the farm laborers; the others were directed by the majordomo or by foremen of their own race. At midday all were called to dinner, and a couple of hours allowed for rest in their huts. Labor was then resumed till about five o'clock, when, after prayers, an evening meal was given, and the laborers returned to their

homes to rest. The hours of work were from four to six hours a day, and when that was over the natives might amuse themselves as they pleased or visit other missions or the army posts, if near them. They were only required to be back in time for work. The native games and athletic sports were a common way of occupying time outside work hours, and the Franciscans rather encouraged the practice.

Work was not continuous the year round. The laborers were given frequent holidays, and were allowed to go on excursions to the mountains or other missions at regular intervals. The administrator at Santa Barbara stated the practice there to be that a fifth of the settled natives received alternately a week's holiday, in which they usually went to camp out in the hills and gather berries or hunt. The friars thought these short returns to old habits of life good for the health and temper of their converts, and only required that they returned at the time fixed as end of their holidays.

Though the wild natives showed a marked taste for the meat and porridge diet of the missions, and those settled there were in better physical condition usually than the outside gentiles, these returns to wild life for a time were much enjoyed by the mission Indians, and the friars saw no reason to object. It was only customs opposed to morality, like some of the old dances, that were strictly forbidden. Moral conduct was strictly enforced among the mission residents at all times, and punishments inflicted were mostly for offences against it.

The young girls of Indian race were not left with their families after the age of five or six. Every mission had a "woman's house," or *monjeria*, as it was often called, where the young girls boarded and were employed sewing, spinning or weaving, under charge of reliable women of their own race.

On one point the missions brought a radical change into native habits. Most of the gentiles in California went

stark naked. The converts were required to wear clothing in the missions. At first stuffs were imported from Mexico, but when Lasuen wrote his report most of the cloth used was spun and woven in the missions. The men received trousers and jackets, the women, skirts and jackets, and all, blankets, once or twice a year. They were also often given to the outside savages. No complaints on the score of dress on the part of either natives or the military critics of the friars figured in the report sent to Branciforte. At a later time the Indian alcaldes and foremen often used the full dress of Spanish rancheros, but in the beginning of the century no taste for dress of any kind seemed to exist among the natives of California.

In their houses, likewise, the old brush shacks continued long to fill all the requirements of the Indians themselves. It was only by the persuasion of the padres, and with indifference, that they erected cottages of adobe with windows and doors. The well-known attachment of the early Franciscans to poverty in their own dress and cells made them probably easier than most other Europeans in the standards of dress and house accommodation imposed on their converts.

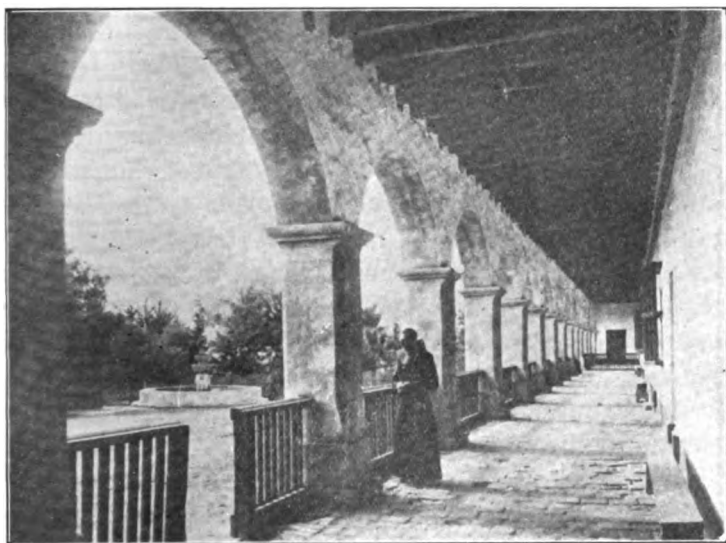
Horra had charged his colleagues with neglecting to teach their converts Spanish, and Lasuen plainly stated their practice. They gave lessons to all who wished to learn, and rewards for learning, but did not impose a knowledge of Spanish as a duty. They felt it would be a needless infringement on the liberty of their converts to force them to use a different language from their native one. The friars themselves were required to study the dialects of those under their charge, and some, though not all, were proficient in them. Religious instruction was generally given in the native tongue, and where the priests could not do so, trained Indian catechists were employed to give it. The catechism in common use, Lasuen stated, had been translated well into several Indian dialects.

The instruction given the grown up converts was chiefly

confined to religion and practical work. The children, however, got schooling for some years before being put to actual labor of a serious kind. Reading and writing were taught only to the most intelligent pupils. In the absence of books in early California, they were not really of much practical use. The adults had the catechism explained to them, and then were made to commit it to memory by frequent repetition. The task was a dull one, and Vancouver, who saw one of the early adult schools, thought it unmeaning, but the Franciscans knew the results obtained. In teaching even the children, they laid more value on oral instruction than book lessons. The doctrines of religion and the principles of morals were the most important part of their intellectual training. Music, both vocal and instrumental, was also taught, and the church services and festivals gave plenty of exercise for its practice. The boys at school were further trained in the rudiments of various trades, carpenter and smith work, stone cutting, brick making and weaving. Special stress was laid on the value of steady occupation for the young during their time of schooling, and the occupation was more manual than literary in kind. Even the grown up converts, after enrollment in a mission, were required to work regularly during a certain time of each day. The habit of industry was regarded by Lasuen and his colleagues as of higher importance than its material results, and it was insisted on as essential to real Christian life among the baptized natives of all ages.

Though not forming part of Lasuen's report, the development of building art in the California missions may appropriately be described here. The first houses and churches built by the friars were of stakes, plastered with clay and thatched with reeds. The converts built their dwellings of brush only. In the mission buildings boards were first substituted for the plastered mud, and next the walls were built of sun-dried bricks or adobe. The danger of fire to the thatched roofs in the dry season was a

serious one for some years. Father Paterna at San Diego, in the beginning of Lasuen's administration, first burned tiles at Santa Barbara, and their use soon spread through all the missions for the more important buildings. The manufacture of brick followed a little after, but it was never used very largely. Stone commended itself more to the tastes of the Franciscans, and it was first used as rough ashlar laid in clay. The stone church at Carmel was begun by Father Serra in that style.



SANTA BARBARA CLOISTER

With the coming of the trade instructors brought from Mexico by Borica, the Indians in some missions were taught how to cut stone and make mortar. Some of the Franciscans showed marked fondness for building. Father Tapis of Santa Barbara was especially conspicuous in this line. He built a fine stone church at Santa Barbara and housed the Indian workmen in neat cottages of adobe or brick with tile roofs and white-washed walls. As early as 1792 Vancouver noted the better character and neatness of the dwellings in Santa Barbara com-

pared with those of either San Francisco, Monterey or Santa Clara. The houses were laid out in regular streets and kept very clean. The superior intelligence of the Santa Barbara natives may have helped Tapis in achieving his success as a builder. His church was enlarged several times, and that now standing was built as early as 1805, when Tapis was President of the missions of California.

Another stone church was built at San Buenaventura, but the greatest of old California was that erected in 1806 at San Juan Capistrano. It was of large dimensions, vaulted throughout in dressed stone, and decorated internally with paintings by native workmen, who showed considerable artistic qualities. The front was decorated with a massive tower, and the style throughout that of southern Spain. Its duration was unfortunately short. In 1812 an earthquake of unexampled violence shattered its roof and threw down the tower, while a large congregation was gathered for service. More than forty lives were lost, and the building was never restored, a new one being erected elsewhere for the population. The ruins of Capistrano are among the most interesting relics of old California still existing.

The planning of the mission buildings was systematized on a general plan during the administration of Lasuen. The Church, presbytery, workshops, granaries, schools, and residences of the employees were built in a square, one side being usually open. The fronts were usually arcaded, like the old cloisters of Spain and Italy, but with no attempt at architectural decoration. Adobe or stone were the materials used for the walls, and tile for the roofing. The massive walls, small openings and bright color of the tiles gave a common character to all the mission buildings, and were not unsuited to the climate of California.

The charges made by Horra seem to have been lightly regarded by the Mexican authorities, though they had

imposed so much work on Father Lasuen and his colleagues. It was not until two years after the former had been laid to rest in Carmel, and five after the death of Borica, that the Mexican Council gave judgment on the case. It cleared in the fullest way the missionaries of California from the various charges of tyranny, cruelty and neglect of the laws. The post commanders were ordered to live in harmony with the friars, and the Viceroy pronounced Horra's allegations "the offspring of a deranged mind that no way tarnished the reputation of the missioners in California."

The verdict of the Viceroy's Council was hardly needed as a vindication for the dead President. Bancroft, seventy years later, examined all the documents connected with the case and summed up the result of his search:

"Lasuen claimed that he and his friars were working honestly for the conversion of the natives in accordance with the rule of their order and the regulations of Spanish law, by which they stood to the aborigines in the place of parents. He admits that, being only men, they differed from one another in judgment and patience, and that, consequently, errors were sometimes committed; but he affirms most earnestly that the natives were shown every kindness consistent with the restraint implied by the missionary and parental relation. The venerable friar's words and manner impress the reader most forcibly, and a close study of the subject has convinced me that he was right."

The facts brought out in the report, indeed, speak for themselves. The forty friars in California had brought fifteen thousand Indians from savage to settled life by personal influence alone. The Spanish soldiers, according to the Governor's testimony, were forbidden either to bring gentiles from their rancherias or fugitives to the missions. All serious crimes were reserved for the decision of the military officers, to whom the mission police guards reported directly. The food, clothing and dwellings



of the converts were better than those of the savages, by the admission of the savages themselves, as well as of the military critics. They were, indeed, though the Spanish officials did not know the fact, much better than those of the laboring classes in France, England, or most of the United States at the time. It would be hard to find elsewhere a population of so many thousand laborers whose wants were provided for by a day's work of from four to six hours. The children were schooled, the sick and aged supported, and besides the Church holidays, a quarter of the year was given to pleasure excursions through the country. Their intelligence was developed likewise by the care of their rulers. The acquisition of Spanish, of music, of trade skill, was encouraged by rewards, and social organization developed by the selection of the brightest and most reliable natives as overseers or *alcaldes*. That no wages were paid was a matter of course in a country where money hardly existed. The remarkable thing, as compared with other industrial communities, was that the directors of the missions received no reward for their services. Their food, clothing, and even their rooms were as poor as those of their converts. Whatever surplus might accrue from the joint labor of friars and natives remained in the missions, to be ultimately shared among the latter whenever their advance in intelligence might fit them for its use.

The obligation to steady work and the infliction of punishments for its neglect, or for desertion of their homes by mission Indians, has been sometimes described as involving a condition of slavery. La Perouse, under influence of the fashionable philosophy of the French Court in his day, wrote that the state of the mission Indians was little different from that of the slaves in the best administered French colonies, and his words have been copied by Forbes and others, who never saw the missions. How little justified they were, may be gathered by a comparison between the condition of the mission laborers and

the free laborers of any civilized country during the time of the California missions. In no country on the European continent could an ordinary citizen travel without a passport, or desert his employment during its fixed term. In both England and the United States, though travel was free, vagrancy among the poor was punished by the stocks or whipping post. In Scotland colliers and salters were liable to the same penalties if they sought employment at other trades. The desertion of work by farm laborers who had hired for a fixed term was likewise a criminal offense. In the matter of corporal punishment, the law, both of England and most American states, left its infliction to the discretion of schoolmasters, employers of apprentices and shipmasters. In the high schools of England, the senior pupils flogged their fags at discretion. In none of these cases was it thought any condition of slavery existed. The restrictions placed on the wandering habits of the Indians were less strict than those on the peasantry of France or any part of the European continent. The flogging used to punish offences in the missions has no comparison to the brutalities used commonly on American ships thirty years after Father Lasuen's time. One need only refer to Dana's well-known work, "Two Years before the Mast."

The enforcement of attendance at divine service is another point on which the supposed slavery of the mission Indians is often claimed. The American traveler, Robinson, commented on the practice as he saw it at San Luis Rey in Mexican times. The Indians were brought to mass every day before work, and he adds he had seen them marshaled to the Church door by their alcaldes and chastised with a switch if they got out of order. The incident is made to serve as a text for deploring their condition as "miserable indeed," though he admits they were unconscious of the depth of their misery. He had evidently forgotten the not very far distant laws of New England, which required Church attendance of the Anglo-

Saxon citizens as strictly as the missions required it of their converts. The parish beadies through England at the time marshaled the children to the church door on Sundays by the same methods as the Indian *alcaldes* did in California.

It may not be generally known that through the period of existence of the Spanish missions in California, and much later, the general laws of the United States gave the heads of schools and academies, as well as legal guardians, the same power of enforcing attendance at Church on their wards as was used by the Franciscans in California over their converts. The American practice may be gathered from a case in 1843, preserved in the files of the War Department at Washington. A Catholic officer refused to attend a Protestant service when ordered by his Colonel. Complaint was made to General Winfield Scott, who wrote that "the practice of the Army of the United States up to that time had been entirely against the claim of conscience set up by Lieutenant O'Brien." He added: "At the Military Academy it is not known that any cadet (not even a Jew) has ever refused to attend divine worship on the ground of conscience. It is true that the authorities there have all the rights of parents or guardians over minors, and that any parent or guardian may oblige his child to go to any particular place of worship." It would seem, from General Scott's statement, that all army commanders had the power of sending their men to any form of service they might select. In England, a few years earlier, a private soldier, Spence, was actually sentenced to five hundred lashes for refusing to attend the service of the Established Church.

## CHAPTER XIII

### THE SPANISH FRANCISCANS

The long investigation of missionary methods in California made by Branciforte and his successor establishes, with moral certainty, that force was not used to bring the natives there to Christianity. It is further a historical fact that at least a hundred thousand did both accept Christian belief and take up a settled life during the first half century of national existence of the United States, and that as long as the friars continued to direct their converts the latter lived in a condition of civilization and prosperity. No such task was accomplished in any other part of the present United States, though from the first foundation of the New England Colonies, it was proposed by the Anglo-Saxon authorities and attempted in vain by men like Elliott, Brainard, Mayhew and the Moravian missionaries. The union of the Indians and European population of America was desired by Washington and his successors. The philanthropic Jefferson, in the lifetime of Father Lasuen, declared, "the ultimate point of rest and happiness for the Indians to be to let their settlements and ours blend to one people." He thought, like La Perouse and Neve, that such a consummation could be gained by showing the native tribes the material benefits of civilization, but, unlike the French explorer, he did not think that religious zeal and self-sacrifice on the part of some civilized men were needed to gain it. It is needless to point out that Jefferson's philanthropic wishes remained unaccomplished, though the Iroquois and Cherokees would seem more accessible to civilizing influences than the naked savages of California.

The success of the friars in California can hardly be credited to the protection of Government or the funds

placed at their disposal. The quality of the first has been enough explained already; the latter was little more than the pay of a private soldier for each priest's support. Whatever resources the California missions subsequently had were simply the accumulations of industry among the converts in their own country. The moral influence which the friars were able to gain over the natives, both in their savage state and in the missions, cannot be traced to material wealth at their disposal, or even to extraordinary mental abilities among themselves. It came from the intelligent devotion of the missionaries to their work, at the cost of exile and constant privations, the work being continued under these conditions during three generations, without interruption, by successive arrivals of men imbued with the same spirit as Serra and Jayme.

The continued maintenance of a very high standard of human excellence among the missionaries of California is a historic fact, not denied by any acquainted with their history. Galvez, Fages, La Perouse, Vancouver, Langsdorf and Robinson, all attest it personally. Its cause may be traced in the institute to which the missionaries belonged, and a brief outline of the Franciscan Order seems needed as an explanation of the nature of the missions of California.

That Order was founded in the beginning of the thirteenth century, five hundred years before the birth of Junipero Serra. Its founder was a layman, the son of a small merchant in the petty Italian town Assisi, and he began it when twenty-five years of age, without previous theological or scholastic training, except his own unearthly devotedness. He purposed to lead a life as closely modeled as possible on that of Christ himself, especially in its poverty. Numerous associates were drawn to share his project, and Francis gave them a Rule of life which, after some hesitation, was sanctioned by Innocent III., at first only orally, but afterwards in full ecclesiastical form. Francis gave his followers the name of Minor Brothers in

the Christian body, and the popular name, friars, was formed from it. The latter was extended to the society founded simultaneously by the Spaniard, Dominic de Guzman, and also to the Carmelites and Augustinians, two older bodies, which adopted rules similar to the Franciscan.

The field of work marked out for his Order by Francis of Assisi was different from that of either the ordinary clergy or the monks already existing. The priests among the friars were to be employed in preaching and teaching as auxiliaries to the clergy, but were not to receive any regular payment for their services. They were to depend for support solely on free daily gifts, and the founder carried his zeal to such a point that, when he called an assembly of five thousand of his brethren, he forbade any provision for their food during the council. The monks of the Benedictine and other orders had for many centuries taken obligations of personal poverty. Their communities supported themselves by farming and usually at first located in waste lands, which they reclaimed and cultivated, much as the mission founders did in California. The old monks, however, did their work by their own hands, and its result remained the common property of the community. The friars of St. Francis were not allowed by their founder even to acquire property for the common needs, except what was indispensable for their residences and Churches. The difficulty of maintaining a large corporate body, with varied duties and classes of membership, seemed so great that the Pope at first hesitated about sanctioning the Rule of St. Francis, though deeply impressed with the devotion of its founder. The Order, however, has continued during seven centuries under its provisions, kept with remarkable adherence to the spirit of the Founder. At the suppression of religious houses in England, the records show that Henry VIII. found little profit from the sixty Franciscan Convents among them, beyond the lead covering of their roofs. The

movables of the large Convent at Newcastle only gave thirty shillings to the royal treasury. In the Philippines, at the close of an occupation of three hundred and twenty years, the Franciscan Spanish friars were lately reported to possess no landed property.

The Franciscans were brought into Spain during the life of their founder, and the Order spread there widely and permanently. They were intimately connected with the first settlement of America and conversion of its natives. The Guardian of La Rabida supported Columbus and introduced him to the Queen. A Franciscan, Zumarraga, was the first Bishop of Mexico, and Cortez asked that no priests but friars should be sent to convert the natives there. Mission work, as a matter of fact, was placed almost exclusively in the hands of the friars and Jesuits through the Spanish Colonies.

To carry out their part of it effectively, the Spanish Franciscans formed special communities, known as Colleges. Each was independent of control, except that of the General, and was practically a Custody or Province in itself. Its members, however, were not drawn from novitiates, like the ordinary convents, but made up from volunteers from every part of the Order. They were sent out as needed to distant missions, where they might be stationed alone, but they retained membership in the College to the end of life, and were subject to its elected Superior in their own work. The College of San Fernando in Mexico was the body asked by Galvez to find missionaries for California on the banishment of the Jesuits. Its authorities continued to direct the missions of Upper California all through their duration.

There were other Franciscan Colleges of a like kind at Orizaba, Queretaro and Zacatecas, but none had any connection with California during the Spanish rule. Though the Colleges were recruited from all parts of the Spanish dominions, it seems that in practice each attracted members from particular localities. The Zacatecas College

was chiefly made up of Mexican friars; the San Fernando missionaries mostly of Spanish birth. The number of the latter that came from the little island of Mallorca is remarkable. Verger, the Guardian of the College itself in the time of Galvez, Serra and Palou, the President and Vice-President of the first California missions, Payeras,



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the successor of Tapis, Crespi, the discoverer of San Francisco Bay, Ripol, Sequeras and the brothers Cabot, were all Mallorcans. The first head and the last survivor of the San Fernando Franciscans in California came from the little island. It is scarcely half the size of Puerto Rico, and its population was hardly over a hundred thousand in the eighteenth century, which makes this



showing of missionary zeal the more remarkable. It seems to indicate that the primitive spirit of the Franciscan Rule was kept up with exceptional vigor in Mallorca of the eighteenth century.

The island certainly retained, and even yet keeps, a more mediæval character than even the Spanish mainland. Its people have been little affected by political changes during the six hundred years that have passed since the Moors were expelled by Jayme el Conquistador. Down to the time of Serra its life and intellectual culture were those of the old days of Catholic Europe before the Reformation. Its capital, Palma, boasted of its Famous Lullian University, where Serra and Palou received their training. Palou gives the educational course of his friend in detail. His parents, farmers of moderate means, attended themselves to his instruction in the Christian doctrine. He was then sent to school, where he learned reading, writing, Latin and Church music. With this amount of schooling, he asked admission among the Franciscans. When his novitiate was ended, the Guardian sent him to the University to take a course of Philosophy, followed by Theology and Canon Law. He received the *borla*, or Doctor's degree in each, and afterwards himself filled a Professor's chair in the University and had Palou and Crespi among his pupils. The subjects are hardly those of a modern University curriculum, but they seem to have developed a marked clearness of thought and definiteness of expression in the pupils of Raymond Lully's foundation in Palma.

It may be noted that Serra's early schooling took in the subjects which the Franciscans mainly taught their converts in California. The ideas of material comfort which they strove to realize were also those of a simple community of farmers, like the people of Mallorca. Everything connected with crops, soils, irrigation and building was familiar to most friars in California, while few showed any tendency towards purely scientific studies.

They were men of action rather than book culture. We find one assigned to a special mission on account of his knowledge of irrigation work; another for his skill in building. Familiarity with the native languages was the chief branch of learning, properly so called, prized among the Californian friars.

Whatever skill they showed in business and administration details was simply learned from experience in the new land. It formed no part of the school training of friars, but had to be picked up as needed, when they were sent to manage the interests of native communities. When the first missionaries reached Loretto, several were quite willing to leave the temporal administration of the missions in the hands of the soldiers, and give themselves to teaching the natives in the same fashion as they were used to speak to congregations in Spain. Father Moran at Cape San Lucas declined at first to receive a donation of a thousand dollars from Galvez to rebuild the church there. He excused himself on the ground that the handling of money matters was foreign to his duties. It was only after considerable explanations by Serra that he consented to accept it. Down to the last the Spanish friars regarded themselves only as administrators of the mission properties, the ownership of which belonged exclusively to the native converts by whose work it had been formed. The personal poverty required by the Rule of St. Francis was well observed by the Spanish friars almost without exception in California.

In business capacity there was considerable difference between individual friars. Some, like Peyri and the Cabots, took up administrative work with ability from the first, others acquired it only after long trial, and many were incompetent to learn its details, though zealous and devoted. The system introduced by Serra and Lasuen was well devised and could be worked out by most friars in its essentials. Lasuen, Tapis, Payeras and Duran were all men of high ability as administrators. The Presidents

left much freedom of initiative to the abler men among their subordinates, like Father Peyri. The discipline they maintained was constant and uniform, but had little of military strictness or severity. It seems to have fitted well with the mental and moral conditions of the Californian Indians. That the latter advanced under it to a higher grade of civilization than was reached elsewhere by any similar race is certain. That they could have done better under another system is not borne out by experience in other lands.

## CHAPTER XIV

### FRAY ESTEBAN TAPIS

On the death of Father Lasuen, in 1803, Esteban Tapis succeeded by virtue of his office as Vice-President. In the distance between California and Mexico, and the rarity of communications, the College always appointed a temporary successor to the head of the missions in case of the latter's death. He was reappointed President three times in succession and his administration from 1803 till 1812 was the most prosperous period of the mission's history, though marked with fewer events than either that of Serra or Lasuen. Father Tapis was a Catalan and had been in California since 1790, and in charge of Santa Barbara since 1793. He had built the mission there to the resemblance of a Spanish town before the death of Lasuen. Two hundred neat cottages had been built solidly in addition to the regular administration buildings. The Christian population was about eighteen hundred and it was increased by eight hundred conversions in the year that Father Lasuen died. No like number in the same time was recorded at any Californian mission.

The population had been decimated two years before by an epidemic of pulmonary consumption. It swept away hundreds all along the Santa Barbara Coast, both of mission residents and gentiles. The superstition of the latter was awakened and a prophet among them declared the plague a punishment from the local deity, Chupu, for the desertions from his worship. The Channel Indians had more definite religious ideas than most other Californians, and their worship of Chupu was firmly established when the friars first visited them. It had made the first progress towards conversion unusually slow, but under the good management of Tapis, who was

a proficient in the Indian language, large numbers enrolled themselves for baptism. They even further got over the reluctance to leave their old settlements which had been specially strong among all the Channel and San Diego Indians. The building up of the village around the mission was the consequence. The old dread of Chupu as a spiritual power still held, however, among the converts and when the contagion broke out many of them privately visited the medicine man and tried to wash out their baptism by strange rites. These proceedings were quite unknown to the Franciscans for many months. They were freely told by the participants when, after some months and noting the mortality among the non-Christian rancherias, they had lost belief in his warnings. It was a strange revelation of the hidden depths of even savage thought to Father Tapis and his colleague. The numerous conversions after the death of Father Lasuen may have been partly a result of the reaction against the Indian prophet's wild threats.

Tapis continued to reside in Santa Barbara for some time after becoming President. The College left such matters to his own discretion. The following year he added another mission to the eighteen left by Lasuen. It was Santa Inez, about eighteen miles from San Buena-ventura, and a little more from Santa Barbara. Its foundation had been recommened by Borica six years earlier. He reported the native population of the district at that time as fifteen hundred, but when Tapis examined it their numbers had shrunk to a thousand. The survivors were further in bitter feuds among themselves which destroyed many. A guard of nine was sent in consequence to protect Santa Inez when it was inaugurated on the 17th of September, 1804. Some settlers came from Santa Barbara and many gentiles offered themselves for immediate instruction. Father Calzada was appointed administrator, with Gutierrez as a companion. The conversions averaged about a hundred a year.

Father Tapis wished to establish a mission in the Channel islands, which had then a numerous native population. He visited them the first year of his office and reported to Governor Arrillaga that Limu or Santa Catalina had ten rancherías, and Huaina or Santa Rosa, seven. Three of the Santa Catalina rancherías had nearly four hundred residents between them; and the largest in Santa Rosa, a hundred and twenty. Arrillaga approved of the project but means to carry it out at the time were wanting, and two years later an epidemic of measles diminished the population of the islands by two hundred. They were left in their native condition, and became a favorite resort for American and Russian sea otter hunters during the next eleven years. There were reports of massacres of natives by the strangers, especially a terrible one by an American Captain in 1811, but no investigation could be made for want of boats. The natives continued to diminish until 1815 when the remnant came to the mainland and enrolled themselves at the mission of Santa Inez. Their history may explain the high mortality in the missions, which has often been attributed to the change of life from the savage state. It seems more correct to consider that change as arresting the decay which had set in already among the native races.

Though there were no new missions for the next fourteen years, there was no cessation of conversions among the natives. The remarkable increase in their number immediately after Father Serra's death has been noted. Something similar followed Father Lasuen's passage from life. More than four thousand baptisms were administered in the year of his death. The Christian population increased from thirteen to over twenty thousand during the first five years of the nineteenth century. Cattle and crops prospered likewise, and the first years of the presidency of Tapis may be called the most prosperous epoch of the Californian missions.

The relations between Tapis and the Governors Argu-

ello and Arrillaga were exceptionally satisfactory. Neve and Fages had multiplied petty disputes with Serra, and though Borica showed no disposition to interfere in the management of the missions, some of his officers continued the practices of Neve's time. They had used the charges of Father Horra to convey their feelings to the Viceroy. That case was sent to Arrillaga to report on in 1804. His report was a vindication of the Franciscans, in plain language. The mission system, he declared, was not absolutely perfect, and its administrators men with human failings but, withal, he believed it the best fitted for converting savages known. The defects in working out its details were of slight importance in the Governor's eyes. He considered the Franciscans to be honest and intelligent, and the regulations laid on them by their superiors sufficient for any correction that might be needed. The Indians in the missions, Arrillaga stated, were as a rule, well treated. Mr. Bancroft considers his report "a straightforward and business-like document, written by a man of good judgment and long experience."

It was so evidently regarded by the Viceroy who next year sent his decision to San Fernando College. He pronounced the charges wholly without foundation, and the product of a disordered mind, and expressed his own respect for the work of the Californian missions. It had taken long to obtain this vindication. Horra's charges had been made six years before their final dismissal was announced.

The case of Father Pena, though rather earlier, deserves mention as another instance of official tardiness in dealing with military complaints against the friars. Pena stood very high among the Franciscans for character and ability and was a veteran missionary. He had been one of the first companions of Father Serra in the settlement of California, and had sailed as chaplain with Perez in the Spanish settlement of Alaska, had founded and built up successfully the mission of Santa Clara and

had for several years been Vice-President of Lasuen. Governor Fages, however, occasionally criticised his management of the Indians. On one occasion he seriously reported to the Viceroy that Pena had pulled a mischievous boy's ear so hard that blood came. Criticisms of this kind were common with the hot-tempered Fages and excited only amusement. It was the same when, in 1786, the Governor alleged that Pena's severity had caused the death of two boys. It was a different matter when a lieutenant, who had been rebuked for immorality by Pena, got some Indians to charge that he had whipped a boy so severely that death followed. The Governor had the case tried by a military court, at which the accusers confessed their charges to be false and told him the officer had urged them to make them. Gonzalez had, meantime, been sent from California for military incapacity, gambling, and insubordination. The charges against Pena and the findings of the court were sent to the Mexican tribunals by Fages. So leisurely did the course of law move there that it was five years before the acquittal of the accused priest reached California. He felt it so keenly that there seemed danger that his reason would give way. Father Lasuen wrote to the College that "he showed nervous fears of every one, talked with himself and had wasted away." He sent him to Mexico to avoid the risk of losing his reason. The acquittal was sent after Pena's return, and, at his request, the only punishment inflicted on his Indian slanderers was a public apology for having "defamed the Franciscan habit." He regained his health in Mexico and three years later was elected guardian of San Fernando College. Lieutenant Gonzalez was sent out of California without further punishment.

The friars had risks of another kind from their Indians, as well as unfounded complaints. Many natives were ready to take life in any fit of ill temper or revenge. They were familiar with several virulent poisons and used them more than once on the missionaries, as the San Diego



hostiles had used their clubs. In 1801 the two priests of San Antonio were taken ill with every symptom of poison, and a little after those at San Miguel were attacked in the same way. Father Pujol came from Monterey to attend the latter and within a few days was attacked with the same malady. He died within a few hours in great agony. The authors of the deed were not discovered. Some years later Father Panto was poisoned at San Diego. The Indian cook confessed the act and claimed that it had been done out of revenge. Eight months hard labor in the presidio was the only punishment inflicted for this poisoning on the part of an Indian servant, by a court of Spanish officers in California.

A like leniency was shown the assassins of Father Quintana some years later. The murder was a particularly revolting one. The victim was called from his bed at night to visit a supposed dying man, and murdered with fiendish barbarity. His body was brought back to his room and disposed so as to appear dead from natural causes. The murder was revealed two years later by confession of two of the culprits. A trial was held and the five assassins condemned to terms of imprisonment of from two to ten years, with two hundred lashes each. On another occasion a like attempt was made on the life of Father Viader at Santa Clara. He was called out at night by three natives to anoint a dying man and his guides attacked him when outside the mission. Viader disarmed and bound the three, led them back to the mission and there dismissed them with a lecture on the enormity of their crime. It is pleasing to know that his leniency was appreciated. The three would-be assassins remained devoted to Viader down to his death.

The readiness of the Spanish friars to waive punishment for attempts on their own lives is remarkable. Father Serra got pardon for the murderers of Jayme from Bucareli. Lasuen asked Arrillaga to give only a flogging to the Indians who boasted of having tried to

poison Father Sitjar. The murderers of Quintana and Panto got off with short terms of imprisonment. It is difficult to find in Californian history any traces of the cruelty which Lecky and other English writers charge so positively on the rule of Spain in every land.

A violent epidemic in 1806 spread desolation through nearly all the missions. Its cause was not known but the effects were terrible. A hundred and sixty Indians died in Santa Barbara, two hundred at La Purissima, and two hundred and thirty-six in San Francisco. The death roll of the year, through California, reached three thousand, an unexampled mortality during the duration of the missions. San Diego and San Miguel were the only two places which escaped. It does not appear that the attacks were all the same disease. At San Francisco it was an epidemic of measles, elsewhere pulmonary consumption developed to epidemic proportions. Like visitations had occurred before in individual missions, at Santa Barbara in 1801 and at Soledad the next year, but nothing like the mortality of 1806. It was fourteen years before the population rose to the numbers which it had in 1805, though numerous gentiles added to it in the meantime. San Carlos, Santa Cruz and the missions of the Santa Barbara Channel, never reached their former population. The visitation, like the Black Death in Europe in the fourteenth century, came without explicable cause and ended as mysteriously as it had begun. The liability of the native races of America to epidemics had been noted by Humboldt a year or two before this date. It had been exemplified two or three times within twenty years among the population of Mexico, and the pestilence which ravaged South America in the sixteenth century was a still more striking example. The destruction of natives in Alaska, within the last few years, is like that which fell on the Californian missions a hundred years earlier. The savages seem to have suffered as well as their countrymen in the missions, to judge by the complaints subse-

quently made by the pueblo settlers of the difficulty of finding gentile laborers. Besides the losses through death, the epidemic caused numerous desertions from the missions. There seemed at times something like a panic in particular places, and the Indians tried to get far away from their homes. From the Channel missions, many went beyond the mountains to the Tulare Valley; from Santa Clara and San Jose, to the valley of the San Joaquin. The Governor looked with anxiety on this movement which, he feared, might stir up hostilities among the wild tribes. Military parties were several times sent after the runaways, and also to conciliate the savages. The Tulare region was thoroughly explored, and a chain of missions in it projected by Tapis and Arrillaga. A new presidio or two were, however, considered necessary for such an attempt, and the foundations had to be put off. The Mexican treasury could furnish nothing to California beyond the pay of the companies already there.

The number of missionaries was, likewise, lessened by the war between England and Spain at this time. Spanish priests could only cross the Atlantic with much difficulty. Father Tapis could barely get enough priests to supply the existing missions during his administration. Thirty-eight Franciscans had come to California during the last decade of the eighteenth century but only twenty-eight in the first decade of the nineteenth. Twenty returned in the latter period through ill health or expiration of their terms, and ten died, so that the number of missionaries was less than it had been at the beginning.

Five of Serra's companions were at work in California at the death of Lasuen. Father Santa Maria had been employed in Loretto in 1771, as well as Cruzado and Sanchez. He founded San Buenaventura in 1782 and was stationed there for the next twenty-four years. Vancouver met him ten years later and noted the strong attachment of the Indians to his person and his familiarity with their language. Fathers Sanchez and Cruzado were to

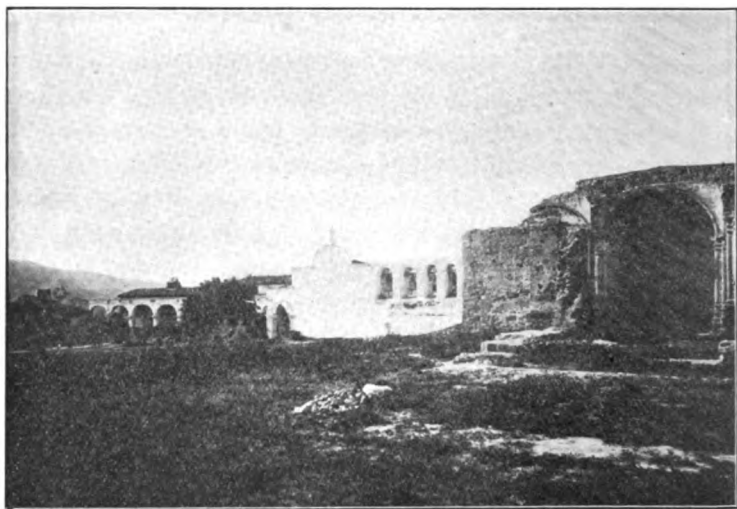
gether at San Gabriel for nearly thirty years. The first died in 1803, the latter, the next year, after fifty-five years of continuous work in the Sierra Gorda, Lower and Upper California. Sitjar, a native of Mallorca, had founded San Antonio and remained there thirty-seven years till his death in 1808. Father Dumetz, who died in the beginning of 1811, was the last survivor of the fellow workers of Serra. His death reduced the number of Franciscans to thirty-seven, barely sufficient for the nineteen existing missions. The insurrection which broke out in 1810 in Mexico, and Napoleon's invasion of Spain, both tended to bar the coming of Spanish missionaries. No attempt could, under the circumstances, be made at new missions.

To find a remedy for the lack of new priests, Tapis advised the San Fernando College to turn over some of the existing missions to another Franciscan Community, the College of Orizaba. The two colleges were willing, but the insurrection in Mexico interrupted communication with California and otherwise caused so much turmoil that the project was abandoned till quieter times. The San Fernando friars had to continue their work as best they could with decreasing numbers in their own body.

They showed no sign of discouragement and the administration of Tapis was a period of much activity through the old missions. The church of San Juan Capistrano, the largest ever built in Spanish California, was completed in the very year of the great epidemic. The irrigation works constructed a little later near San Diego were a remarkable piece of engineering, and showed a degree of constructive skill that could hardly be expected in men without professional training. The stream was dammed three miles above the mission by a solid stone wall more than twelve feet thick, coated with a cement of uncommon hardness and durability, which has endured until recent times. Water was carried from the reservoir thus formed in an aqueduct of tiles, supported by walls of masonry like that of the dam, and carried down the

side of the steep gorge through which the stream ran. Several gulches had to be crossed, but the fall of the tiled channel was aligned accurately from the reservoir to the outlet near the fields to be watered. Part of the dam still remains, or did very lately, as a monument of the engineering of the Spanish friars.

The San Diego canal was undertaken in consequence of the very dry season of 1809 which was worse than any yet experienced. Periodical droughts are a feature of the Californian climate which was early found by the Span-



RUINED CHURCH OF CAPISTRANO

iards. The friars guarded against their consequences with more intelligence and skill than the first generation of American settlers who replaced their converts. Irrigation works had been a feature of their cultivation in nearly every settlement they made and even the drought of 1809 did not prevent a crop of sixty thousand bushels being harvested that year. There was heavy loss of live stock but no famine, or suffering from want of food, anywhere among the mission Indians. Though dry years were noted in 1801 and 1803 as well as 1809, the cattle and sheep of

the missions nearly doubled in number during the first ten years of the century. Father Tapis in his administration directed the labor of his friars much towards intelligent cultivation in the manner of the old Benedictines of Europe. One of the priests at each mission was specially charged with the farm work and directed all its details through Indian and a few Spanish foremen. The concession made by the Viceroy of a special soldier assistant at each mission under direct control of the administrator was a valuable help in the farming works.

Exploration for future mission sites was not neglected, though there was no immediate prospect of their commencement. Fathers Zalvidea and Munoz were sent to convert the natives of the Tulare Valley in 1860, and had some success. They explored the district extensively and marked out localities in which they believed permanent settlements should be made as soon as new priests came. Viader of Santa Clara made a like expedition to the San Joaquin Valley four years afterwards, in company with Lieutenant Moraga. The diaries of the three Franciscans are still preserved. The desire to plant missions in the interior was never given up by the Spanish Franciscans, and in 1842, when most of them had passed away, the traveler, De Moffras, found old Father Abella still hoping to begin a mission there before the close of his life.

In the meantime the natives around the existing establishments furnished field for much missionary work. Visiting stations with churches were built from the missions of San Diego, Santa Barbara and San Luis Obispo to reach the gentiles who did not care to change their old places of abode. A larger one at Pala was founded by Father Peyri, and became the center of a larger population than some fully developed missions. Twelve thousand converts were enrolled during the first ten years of the century and the whole number of baptisms registered was over twenty-two thousand, between adults and children. The effect of the epidemic was shown in the

sixteen thousand burials attended by the friars during the time. Before the close of the administration of Tapis the mission population had nearly recovered the losses of the fatal epidemic and the consequent desertions.

Reports of a few individual missions given to Father Tapis in 1810 may illustrate the general conditions. At La Purissima the administrator, Payeras, reported over a thousand Christians. There had been many conversions and eleven hundred baptisms administered in ten years, but the epidemic had been very deadly and a thousand Christians had died during the period. Payeras noted that many of the converts had retained some of the superstitions and vices of their former life after joining the mission, and that it had needed unceasing instruction and warnings to root them out. Chupu continued to be propitiated with fantastic rites in secret by many mission Indians. Their practices were like the charms against fairy malevolence that long lingered in Ireland and the Scotch Highlands among the peasantry. Payeras further noted nearly all the children, among those newly settled in the mission, were still born. His report indicates that the evil had ceased, or been much lessened after some years of regular Christian life. Of the natives there at the time of his report, he stated they were nearly all industrious and docile with no desire to desert their mission. They worked, sang and prayed with much enthusiasm and met sickness and death patiently and like good Christians. Father Payeras incidentally mentioned that he had written a large catechism, suited to Indian intelligence, in the dialect of the district, and that he had found it of much use in awakening the moral intelligence of his converts and their children.

The district had been much tried by want of rains, and in five years the only crops raised were those artificially irrigated. Still the yield had grown from two thousand to six thousand fanegas of grain in the ten years. The cattle had increased from two thousand to ten, and the

sheep from four to ten thousand in the same period. Through the increase in farm work, Payeras had given up the practice of sending Indians to hunt sea otters for government purchase of the skins. The skins had produced a return of ten thousand dollars, but the administrator thought the pursuit drew the natives too much away from instruction and steady industry. The money profits of the work seemed to him of less importance than the moral training of the Indians.

The report from San Fernando showed a larger growth of population. It was from three hundred and fifty to over a thousand. Fifteen hundred baptisms and eight hundred deaths were registered during the ten years. Nine thousand bushels were harvested in the year of the report and the mission owned four thousand sheep and twice as many cattle. It had only eleven hundred of both combined and raised only two thousand fanegas of grain in the first year of the century.

At San Luis Rey under the skilful management of its founder, Father Peyri, progress was still more satisfactory. Its people grew from three hundred and thirty to over fifteen hundred; its cattle, from six hundred to ten thousand; its sheep, from sixteen hundred to nearly ten thousand. Its harvests in a single year had reached ten thousand bushels of grain. Fourteen hundred baptisms were registered during the decade and little over four hundred deaths. The loss in the year of the epidemics had been large, but less than half that of either Purissima or San Fernando. San Luis Rey all through its history was the most prosperous of the Californian missions.

The vindication of the Californian missionaries from the charges made by Horra was followed by a circular, the next year, from the Guardian of San Fernando. It was a document characteristically Franciscan. The writer made no boasts about the honorable testimony given to his Order by the Mexican officials but only called the attention of his subjects to the performance of their



own duties and made several of the practices already existing, according to Father Lasuen's statement, binding duties, under Franciscan obedience, on every Californian missionary. They were to carry on no trading with foreign ships without permission of the Governor, and they were to furnish strict accounts of the mission administration to the College, but to no one else. This confirmed fully the regulations of Serra and Lasuen on the latter point, which, indeed, had not been urged by any Governor since Fages. The mission administrators were further required to keep a record of the communications received from the College and to follow strictly the practice of Father Lasuen's administration in the employment and discipline of the mission Indians. A peculiar instruction indicates the jealous care of the San Fernando Guardian for the Franciscan rule of personal poverty. Some silver watches had found their way to California on foreign ships and were used by a few priests there. Gasol ordered them all sent to San Blas and sold there on account of the missions. Silver watches he regarded as too much a luxury for Franciscans.

In the hours of labor required of natives, Gasol made it an imperative rule that they should not exceed six in winter, or seven in summer. It was the same as Lasuen stated to be the ordinary practice of his administration. It may be appreciated better when it is remembered that the ordinary work day of laborers in Europe or the United States at the time was twelve hours. The number of stripes that might be inflicted on Indian offenders was limited most strictly to twenty-five. If any Franciscan sanctioned more, he incurred the guilt of formal disobedience to his own Superior. Further, the whipping should not be given in presence of strangers, and women should only receive it from other Indian women.

The whipping post and stocks at this time and for centuries earlier were the common punishment for minor offences in every European population. Female thieves

were publicly flogged at the cart tail in England at the time, and the whipping-post was an institution in most American States. In the merchant service use of the lash was the unquestioned right of a Captain over English or American seamen. The practice in the British colony of Australia towards white men, at the time when Gasol limited the punishment of savages to twenty-five blows, is told by a personal witness, Joseph Holt, who was a leader in the Irish insurrection in 1798, and transported to New South Wales for fourteen years. He was put in charge of a gang of laborers by Captain Johnstone and was shortly afterwards called to see the punishment inflicted on a man named Fitzgerald for some disrespect to an officer. "The punishment was three hundred lashes. The prisoner's arms were drawn around a small tree, and his wrists tied with cord so that his body was drawn against the bark. A priest, who was under sentence of transportation, was forced to place his hands beside those of the prisoner, and two men appointed to flog; one, Rice, a left-handed man; the other, the hangman from Sydney, Johnson, who was right-handed. They stood on each side of Fitzgerald and I never saw threshers in a barn move their flails more regularly than those two did without pity, and rather enjoying their employment. The first blows made the blood spout from Fitzgerald's shoulders."

Flogging, it may be remarked, was the penalty in Australia for non-attendance at the Sunday service of the Established Church. For the first absence it was twenty-five lashes; for the second, fifty. In California, Governor Fages considered the pulling of an Indian boy's ear so as to bring the blood, a cruelty worthy to be reported to the Mexican Viceroy. The difference between English and Spanish conceptions of punishment is illustrated in the contemporary histories of the Californian and Australian settlements.

A visit of Russian voyagers to California in 1806 has left a picture of the missions of San Francisco and San

Jose as seen by foreign eyes. Dr. Langsdorf, the naturalist of the Russian expedition around the world, and himself a German Lutheran, published his account of it in 1813 in London. He was hospitably received at San Francisco by Fathers Landaneta and Abella, the latter the same that was found by De Moffras thirty-six years later planning missions among the savages of the north. Behind the residence of the priests was a large court, surrounded by buildings, in which the Indians were preparing wool and weaving coarse cloth. There were shops for blacksmiths, carpenters and furniture makers, and separate buildings for rendering tallow and making soap. There were, also, store houses filled with grain, tallow, soap, butter, salt, wool, and hides, from the farms worked by the natives. The kitchen garden was poor, owing to the sands and winds. The judgment of the German visitor on the Spanish friars and their converts is best told in his own words: "The men we saw had such a dull, heavy appearance that we all agreed we had never seen less pleasing specimens of the human race. I believe them wholly incapable of forming any regular and combined plan for their own emancipation. I was present at their meal times and it seemed incomprehensible how any one could, three times a day, eat so large a quantity of such nourishing food. One cannot enough admire the zeal and activity which carries the friars through so hard a task, or help wishing the fullest success to their undertaking. None of these missionaries can acquire any property, so that the idea of enriching themselves can never divert their thoughts from their religious avocations. Friendship and harmony reigned in the whole behavior of these worthy, kind-hearted people. They conduct themselves in general with such prudence, kindness, and paternal care, towards their converts that peace, happiness, and obedience, universally prevail among them." This story is strong testimony to the character of the Spanish friars, coming from a stranger to their race and creed. It gets

strange corroboration from the description of the closing life scene of one of Langsdorf's hosts at San Francisco told by another foreign visitor, De Moffras. He found Father Abella, after forty-seven years of the work pictured by Langsdorf, living in solitude in the ruined mission of San Luis Obispo with no attendants, no bed but a hide stretched on a frame, no cup except a hollowed horn, and no food except strips of jerked beef, furnished by the occupants of the mission lands, which he shared with the few surviving Indians who lingered around their old abode. He refused to leave them without his ministry, though often offered a home and comfort by his Spanish friends. The rule of poverty was no mere name for the last Spanish friars of California any more than it had been for Junipero Serra.

Father Tapis was three times appointed president of the missions, despite his request to be relieved from the office on the grounds of his unfitness, in his own estimation. In 1812 the College gave him a successor in the person of Father Senan, the oldest missionary then in California. The ex-president resumed the ordinary duties of a missionary at Santa Inez Mission. He was transferred to San Juan Bautista in 1815 and administered it until his death in 1825. No fault was found with his conduct at any time, either by his religious superiors or the civil authorities. He was noted for his familiarity with the Indian dialects, and also for his habit of studying the individual character of the Indian converts, and was specially given to teaching the more intelligent boys to read and write. He was the senior missionary in California at the time of his death, having spent thirty-five years there continuously.

## CHAPTER XV

### GOVERNOR ARRILLAGA

Governor Borica left California in the beginning of 1800, after six years of service there. His departure was only on furlough to recruit his health, which had been broken by thirty-six years of military service, during which he had traveled over thirty thousand miles on horseback, according to his application for leave of absence. He never returned, as his life and term of office were ended by death the following year. Borica was the ablest and most energetic of the Spanish Governors. He showed intelligent and kindly interest in all the classes of its population, soldiers, settlers and Indians, and enjoyed the full confidence of the Mexican authorities throughout his term. To schools and the development of local industries he gave special attention, and the trade instructors brought from Mexico at his suggestion helped much in developing the manufactures and workshops of the missions. Though he kept strict discipline among his soldiers and officers, he was popular with both. The wild Indians were treated with a humanity not common in the annals of most colonies. He forbade any hostilities unless absolutely required by self-defence, and in point of fact, hardly any collisions between the races occurred during his rule. The guards at the missions were forbidden to follow runaways, or even visit the gentile rancherias, except with the priests on missionary journeys. The settlers of the two pueblos, and the village of Branciforte, got much of the Governor's care, and he tried to increase their numbers by immigrants from Mexico under Government aid, and he fostered the cultivation of hemp by Government bounties. Borica was a man of culture as well as of administrative ability. His letters preserved

in the old archives show him as witty and kindly, with a keen sense of humor and a cheery disposition. Bancroft sums up his character as "a prudent, sensible man, honest and zealous in the discharge of his public duties, who gave himself faithfully and intelligently to the general advancement of his province." It is doubtful if many contemporary Governors of American territories or English colonies could merit a like character.

Borica's relations with the friars, and especially with Lasuen, were cordial, though the latter complained with some reason of the secrecy of his investigation into the Horra charges. He showed none of Neve's jealousy of the friar's control over the converts and, as he informed the Viceroy in one of his communications, made it a point to meddle as little as possible in mission management. Five new missions and the village of Branciforte were established under his administration.

Captain Arrillaga, the Deputy Governor of Lower California, became civil head of the upper province during Borica's absence. The military command, however, was separated for a time from the Governorship, owing to the presence in Monterey of an officer of higher rank than Arrillaga. This was Lieutenant-Colonel Alberni, who had been commander at Nootka Sound when it was occupied by the Spaniards, and who brought thence a company of Catalan infantry to reinforce the Californian garrisons. The separation of powers only lasted a year, as Alberni died a few months after Borica. He had been commander of a post in Jalisco where he was popular with both the Indians and the missionaries, and at Nootka he had been much liked by the natives. There was no clash between him and Arrillaga during their joint administration. Indeed the friendly relations between the Spanish officers in California were not unlike those among the friars. The friendship between Borica and Arrillaga was very intimate, as was that between the latter and his successor, Arguello, and the relations of Fages with Neve and Ro-

mieu. Personal or official jealousy appears to have been small in the old Spanish character.

Though appointed Governor after Borica's death, Arrillaga remained at Loretto the next four years. The administration of Upper California was conducted by the four post captains. In 1804 the peninsula was entirely separated from Upper California and Captain Goycochea named its Governor. The next year Arrillaga came to Monterey, where he remained ruler until his death, nine years afterwards.

The visits of foreign trading vessels and their smuggling and poaching, were the first matters which claimed Arrillaga's care. Two or three American and English ships had touched at Monterey for supplies in the time of Borica, but trading only began with the nineteenth century. Under the Spanish regulations, California was a military colony in which trade was not open to foreigners. Spanish vessels were free to carry goods between Mexican and Californian ports, but no others had a right of entry as carriers. Ships of all nations were allowed to obtain supplies if needed, but their crews were not permitted to pass beyond the ports. The precaution was a military one, justified by the small number of troops in the country and no difficulty over it arose during the first thirty years of Spanish occupation.

The visit of the Boston ship *Alexander* in 1802, while Arrillaga was residing at Loretto, was marked by the first attempt at smuggling in California. Her Captain entered San Diego with a request for needed supplies and permission to land some of his men afflicted with scurvy. Rodriguez, the post commander, gave the permission, and the Captain took advantage of it to buy some hundred sea otter skins from settlers, in defiance of the laws. Rodriguez searched the vessel, seized the skins, and ordered the Captain to leave forthwith. He did so only to call at San Francisco, where he obtained provisions for a year, and went up the coast to trade with the Indians and Russians.

He returned in a few months with a tale of destitution and application for more provisions. He was refused at San Francisco, where his story was doubted, but got them at Monterey where the post commander was less wary. The Alexander repaid the favor by slipping away without payment during the night. The Alexander was the second American vessel that entered San Francisco Bay.

Captain Shaler, of the *Leilia Byrd*, called at San Diego two months after for provisions, and while getting them, tried to bribe the Spanish officer to sell him the skins confiscated on the Alexander. He was ordered to leave the port without delay, and after another unsuccessful attempt to buy otter skins from settlers, he put to sea, carrying off a custom's guard of five that had been placed on his vessel after his attempt to bribe the post captain. When summoned to stop by the fort, he opened fire on it with the guns which his ship carried like all merchant vessels of the time. Shaler placed his prisoners on the part of his ship most exposed to the fire of the fort as a further defence, but in spite of it the *Leilia Byrd* was so damaged by the Spanish guns that her Captain ceased fire and surrendered the soldiers. His vessel made for San Quentin in Lower California, where she was allowed to repair by the Spanish officers, who seemed to pay little attention to the action at San Diego. It was a curious example of the easy good nature and lack of strictness of Spanish Californian officials.

Shaler published the story of his voyage some years afterwards and it merits note as the first book on California written in the United States. It had little value as a statement of facts of geography, being mainly a compilation from the published voyages of La Perouse and Vancouver. The author, like the latter, dwelt with keen interest on the wealth of the country and the ease with which strangers might seize it by force.

"The Spaniards had stocked the country with such multitudes of cattle and other useful animals that they



had no longer the power to destroy them. They had taught the Indians many useful arts and accustomed them to agriculture and civilization, and they had spread a number of defenceless inhabitants over the country. In a word they had done everything that could be done to make California an object worthy the attention of the great maritime powers, and it would be as easy to keep California in spite of the Spaniards as it would be to wrest it from them in the first instance." The Captain's morality seems much that of the buccaneers of the Spanish Main. His partner in the ownership, however, dwelt warmly on the fact that "they were among a people remarkable for treachery and hostility to strangers," and complained bitterly of the tyranny of the Spanish officer in prohibiting his smuggling operations.

Cleaveland, the partner in question, published a separate account of the voyage many years later, when California had been long separated from Spain. He had been meantime American Consul at Algiers, and filled other posts. The value of his criticisms may be gathered from the last quotation.

Several other American vessels came to California in the following years. The O'Cain of Boston inaugurated otter hunting along the California coast in 1803, in partnership with the Russian Fur Company of Alaska. Her Captain was apparently the Joseph O'Cain who had been left in California by an English vessel some years before, and who then desired to settle in the country and "become a Christian." He made an arrangement at Sitka with the Russian Governor by which the latter furnished Indian hunters and bidarkas to hunt sea otter, and O'Cain carried them south in his vessel and left them at different points while he entered the Californian ports for supplies. The operation was easy in the absence of Spanish naval vessels in the Pacific, and otter hunting was continued by Americans and Russians for many years.

The home government of Spain gave little attention to

its distant colony after the death of Borica. During the reign of Charles III., the development of California had been an object of interest to the Spanish ministry, but the events of the French Revolution after that King's death left Spain little resources for any colonial projects. Charles IV. had not his father's activity or enterprise, and his minister, Godoy, was a mere court favorite without personal character or administrative ability. The new King first joined the confederacy of European powers against revolutionary France and afterwards entered into alliance with the new Republic. England in consequence attacked the Spanish colonies and commerce and captured Trinidad. The first effect of the wars of the French Revolution on California was the withdrawal of the Spanish squadron from the North Pacific. During the later years of Charles III. the coasts of Oregon and Alaska had been explored by Spanish vessels and marked out for settlement. A post was established at Nootka Sound in 1790, and four or five naval vessels besides the San Blas transports were kept in the Pacific. Nootka was abandoned six years later, and the vessels withdrawn for service in the Atlantic. California's communications with the outer world were thenceforth left to the yearly visits of the two little packets from San Blas and occasional foreign ships, most of them a year or two from home before reaching its shores.

The Governors had not even an armed boat to board the visitors. Borica and Arrillaga applied in vain for a cruiser to check poaching and smuggling, and protect the garrisons by transport between the ports. The Government of Charles IV. could spare neither ships nor money for California. The same reason left the route from Mexico across the Colorado in the hands of hostile Indians. After the ruin of the missions on that river in the time of De Croix, California was as much cut off from the rest of the Spanish dominions as though it were the island it had formerly been thought. The singular additional fact was

that its population had no seafaring elements whatever. Borica had asked in vain for a colony of fishermen at Monterey, and the country in Arrillaga's time did not even possess a fishing boat except the canoes of the missions.

The white population at the beginning of the nineteenth century was almost entirely made up of soldiers and their families. The young men of the pueblos enlisted as their ordinary career. Of the fourteen hundred inhabitants of European race in 1800, nearly four hundred were soldiers. There were twelve officers, thirty-five sergeants and corporals, two hundred and sixty enlisted men, and sixty pensioners past service, but still liable to be called upon in an emergency. About ninety belonged to the regular army. They were the Catalan company which Colonel Alborni had brought, and some artillery men. The others were militia of the frontier corps of leather jackets.

Military life in Spanish California was of a peculiar kind. Twenty-five or thirty soldiers was the largest body anywhere kept together in barrack life, and even these were usually married men, whose families lived near. The four presidio posts had garrisons of this kind; the rest of the soldiers were scattered on police duty through the missions and pueblos in squads of five or six, each man living with his family. Others were employed on the public farms,—Ranchos del Rey,—at Monterey, San Diego and San Francisco. The duties there were those of vaqueros and cultivators, with occasional jobs of building and butchering.

The frontier force was all of mounted men, the Catalan company being the only infantry in the country. Horsemanship naturally became the chief pride of Spanish Californian soldiers. There was little training in the use of arms. It is significant that an order of Governor Borica required all muskets to be loaded and fired once a week. Another order detailed the garrison at Monterey to hunt bears for a couple of weeks, and issued a thousand ball cartridges for the campaign. Despite their military

organization, the original Spanish Californians were less familiar with the use of guns, and less provided with arms or ammunition, than any colony of pioneers elsewhere in America.

The paternal nature of the military rule exercised in California is illustrated by some curious entries in the official records. Colonel Borica officially gave permits for card playing at certain hours and for certain stakes to soldiers and citizens. He did not think it below his dignity even to settle disputes over stakes, and one official order required the return of a small amount to Private Larios, after examination of the case by Governor Borica.

There was little of class feeling or arrogance among the military settlers. Most of the officers rose from the ranks, though a few entered the service as gentlemen cadets, but no feeling of rivalry seemed to be known between the two classes. A quarrel between two newly promoted lieutenants at San Diego, in which one knocked the other down, is almost the only instance of a quarrel between officers recorded. Governor Arrillaga, the relatives of the belligerents, and the friars of the missions, all united in restoring harmony between them. The Governor, in reporting the incident to the Viceroy, benevolently excused it as an ebullition of youthful hot temper.

The fatherly conduct of the Governor on this occasion was in keeping with the general character of the Spanish military rule. The paternalism extended to soldiers as well as to officers. The sergeants and corporals at missions and pueblos corresponded directly with the Governor at Monterey, and were answered with due gravity. A complaint of the sergeant at Capistrano to Borica is preserved, in which the insubordination of his men is denounced in feeling terms. The sergeant declared he had to threaten them with kicks to get them to their duty. The same sergeant was subsequently ordered under arrest for offensive language to a private. Complaints of Lieutenants Goycoechea and Ortega to Governor Borica of tres-

pass in their gardens by cattle of the soldiers got a sharp answer. The officers were ordered to fence their plots and put up with the inconvenience. "Why should so many be disturbed for the convenience of a few?" was the Colonel's question. The ideas of individual rights were more democratic among the Spanish Californians of all classes than in most lands. The settlers not enlisted also came in for a share of paternalism. Borica offered a purse of twenty-five dollars one year for the man who raised the largest crop in San Jose pueblo. Another order required every citizen to provide himself at once with ten sheep and a ram, with the further provision that the Government would provide them for those unable to buy. The town corporal of police got a sharp reprimand from the Governor for not having got the citizens to put in more grain than they had done. The same corporal, a little later, duly reported to his commandant that the pueblo Alcalde had promised to look after some cases of alleged needless whipping of children. Military duties in Spanish California were numerous and varied. An illustration is given by a Governor's order that soldiers who could not write should attend school where possible. The paymasters were to issue writing paper, but when used it was to be duly returned for use in making cartridges.

Arrillaga, with all his paternalism toward his subordinates, was strict in his official duties. One of his first acts at Monterey after his appointment was to issue a decree against illegal trading with foreign vessels, which had become common during the two or three previous years. He was not sparing of reprimands for neglect of duty on this point to some of the local commandants, including his personal friend Arguello. Arrillaga had, on a former occasion, censured the commandant of San Francisco for allowing Vancouver to inspect the fortifications and missions of the country. He showed equal wariness and much diplomatic skill on the visit of a Russian visitor of

high rank, which occurred in 1806, immediately after his own arrival in Monterey.

Rezanof, the visitor in question, came from Sitka to San Francisco to get food supplies for his starving settlement in the north. He was aware that these would not be refused, if asked as a matter of humanity, by the known hospitality of the Spanish officials; but he did not care to let them know the condition of the Russian settlements. He had already projects for seizing California with a Russian force, in case of any turn in the politics of Europe which might offer a plausible excuse for the attempt. Rezanof desired to study the facilities for an invasion of California while getting its people to furnish provisions for his needy countrymen. As a Court Chamberlain, the Russian visitor was familiar with the unscrupulous policy of Catherine II., and other tricks of diplomacy. He looked for little trouble in imposing on a few Spanish officers, removed from all contact with the world of politics, and only of subordinate rank in their own service.

Rezanof had no real commission to the Spanish authorities, but the latter had instructions, two years before, to give hospitality to a special exploration squadron sent around the world by the Russian Government. The Chamberlain was sent on this squadron as Ambassador to Japan, and was also charged to inspect the Russian settlements in Alaska. The squadron did not call to California, but landed Rezanof in Kamchatka, from which he went directly to Sitka. The settlement there was newly founded, and its existence hardly known outside Russia.

The Spaniards scarcely knew more than that there were Russian seal hunters in the northern seas. Their first appearance there was earlier than the occupation of California. Behring's voyage in 1741 revealed the number of fur-bearing animals in the northern waters, and the half-breeds of Kamchatka quickly took up the work of hunting them on their own account. Kamchatka had been occupied long before by a band of Cossack outlaws, who found

refuge there from the Russian police, while professing themselves dutiful subjects of the Czar. They were a wild, ignorant and reckless race, fearless and merciless, and their descendants kept the same character. Their hunting excursions often became raids on the defenceless Aleuts and other natives, whom they seized as slaves and massacred when they resisted. Bancroft describes their exploits in the North Pacific during the time when the Spanish friars were forming the first missions of California. "They were as cruel, brutal and greedy, as they were adventurous. They fearlessly navigated any stormy water in their little barks, caulked with moss. The history of this period down to 1785 is a chronicle of crime and bloodshed, which the pen recoils from recording. We read of women driven from their homes, casting themselves by hundreds into the sea to escape their ferocious captors, of drunken brawls, plots and counterplots, of hideous punishments, of wholesale massacres, of slavery, tyranny and outrage."

About the time of Serra's death, the Kamchatkan hunters began to organize into companies, several of which got charters from their Government. These made settlements on the American coast, and fought for some years fiercely among themselves for possession of coveted localities. At last, in 1797, a great monopoly, the Russian-American Company, was founded at Saint Petersburg, with exclusive control of all Russian settlements and trade on this continent. It counted some of the Imperial family amongst its members, and absorbed or suppressed all other companies. Sitka was made its headquarters in America, and Baranof, its director, resided there. Immense profits were gathered from fur hunting, but the difficulty of getting supplies, either from Siberia or around the Horn, kept the population small. When Rezanof reached Sitka, he found its people on the verge of starvation and decimated by scurvy. An American trader, of about two hundred tons, called shortly after-

wards. He bought ship and cargo and sailed for California to trade the latter for provisions. Half the crew died of scurvy before he anchored in the Bay of San Francisco. Captain Arguello, the commandant, came to the shore with twenty men to receive the strangers, and learn their quality. Intercourse was only available in Latin, and was carried on between Father Urria and Langsdorf, the scientist of the expedition. Rezanof described himself as the Governor-General of Russian America, and stated his mission to be to open trade between the Russian and Spanish colonies. He added with cheerful audacity that he had been sent directly for that purpose by the Czar himself, and he claimed the benefit of the instructions issued before by the Spanish authorities in favor of the Russian exploring squadron. Captain Arguello was much impressed by the story of the distinguished foreigner, and invited him to stop at his house. He referred him for further negotiation to Governor Arrillaga, who had lately arrived in Monterey. Rezanof promptly wrote to announce his purpose of traveling by land to that port to confer on the proposed treaty with the Spanish Governor.

The latter was not as ready as Arguello to accept the foreign visitor's statements. He would not allow him to explore the land, but avoided a formal prohibition by coming himself to San Francisco. There he treated Rezanof with every courtesy, but put questions on his business which were decidedly hard to answer without revealing the real nature of his mission. Arrillaga was familiar with French, and Rezanof also spoke it, so there was no chance to evade by pretending not to understand what was asked.

Accepting Rezanof's claim to be Governor of the Russian American territory, the Spanish Governor asked why so many Russian poachers had been killing otter on the California coasts of late years. The Chamberlain denied boldly that the Russian authorities had any knowledge of



such doings. They were wholly the work of "Boston smugglers and robbers," whose swindles in Sitka Rezanof bitterly denounced. How far Arrillaga accepted the statement cannot be told, but he declined positively to violate the Spanish laws prohibiting commerce with strange vessels, even one owned by a Russian Governor. Rezanof urged in vain that his was not a trading vessel, but merely one seeking samples of Californian products to be shown in Russian settlements. He complained in his published letters of Arrillaga's wariness. He "with regret recognized in it the suspicious nature of the Spanish Government, which everywhere kept foreigners from visiting the interior of the country on account of the weakness of its forces." For himself he had "only used a little exaggeration" in describing himself as Governor-General, and he was pained to find so much suspicion in a Spanish official.

He argued his case, however, long and eloquently. As Governor of Russian America, he wanted to make commercial arrangements with California for mutual benefit. He had already given samples from his cargo as gifts to several parties on shore, and wished to barter the rest for grain from the missions. The Governor would not assent, and when profit to himself, in the fashion of Russian officials, was hinted at, he drily answered that, having lived sixty years honestly, he did not care to take trickery on his conscience at his age. Treaty making, he explained, belonged to the General Government not to himself. He would allow the sale of grain as an act of humanity, but no trading for foreign goods. Rezanof had to acknowledge his vessel could not carry what he needed in Sitka without unloading her cargo, though at first he had represented the latter as merely a few stores brought by his purser. Arrillaga, under the circumstances, thought himself justified in buying the cargo on Government account, though he warned Rezanof that the transaction would not be repeated with-

out orders from the Viceroy, to whom he would report it without delay. The Russian had meanwhile got engaged to Dona Concepcion, the daughter of Captain Arguello. The marriage never took place, as Rezanof died on his journey to Saint Petersburg through Siberia. The story of the relations between the Russian diplomat and the Spanish Governor are told in the published letters of the former and the work of Langsdorf. The disgust of Rezanof at the Spaniards' ideas of duty is in amusing contrast with his frank statement of his own falsehoods. He even describes his marriage engagement as a sacrifice on his part to the interest of his country. That Arrillaga had good reason to doubt the purposes of his plausible visitor is evident from Rezanof's private letter to the Russian-American Company on his return to Sitka. In it he urged the establishment of a Russian colony at the mouth of the Columbia, and added: "If we can only get means for this, we can attract population from different places to the Columbia, and we would be powerful enough, in ten years, to make California a part of the Russian dominions on any favorable turn of European politics."

The negotiations with Rezanof show Arrillaga favorably, both for intelligence and honesty. In the latter he contrasts strongly with the Russian diplomat, and his concession of supplies to the starving population of Sitka, as an act of humanity, was in keeping with his general character. When the visitor departed, the Spanish Governor suspected that an occupation of some part of California would soon be attempted by the Russians. To prevent it he desired to establish a post on Bodega Bay, and he sent Moraga to try and find a road to it from the actual Spanish settlements.

Moraga set out late in 1806, and his journey was a notable one in Spanish exploration of California, though it failed in its main object. The Mariposa and Merced rivers were discovered and named on this trip, as Kings River had been the year before. The San Joaquin and

Sacramento rivers received their present names at this time. They had been known before by the general title of the San Francisco Rivers. The Tuolumne, Stanislaus and Calaveras rivers were also discovered and crossed, and a halt made on the "Rio de la Passion," probably the present American River, near the site of the modern State capital. From the camp there, excursions were made into the Sierras. The Indians on the other side of the Rio de la Passion spoke languages entirely different from the southern tribes.

Moraga judged it impossible to reach Bodega Bay in that direction, and as winter was near, he turned southwards from Sacramento and returned to San Fernando through the Tejon Pass. Kaweah Creek, and Tulare and Kern rivers were discovered on the way. Father Munoz accompanied Moraga, kept a record of the journey and marked out several sites for missions in the future. One was where the city of Visalia now stands; another near the lake at a populous native rancheria, named Telame, and a third on the banks of the Merced. Father Tapis reported to his college that the gentile rancherias visited by the Franciscans this year had over five thousand population. All showed willingness to receive instruction, and promised to become Christians if teachers could be sent to them.

A post, however, was needed in the interior valleys before missions could be attempted, and Arrillaga was as hard pressed for soldiers as Tapis for priests. England declared war on Spain in 1804, and California was in danger of invasion. The Governor was ordered to recruit all he could, and strengthen the garrisons of the existing posts and forts, and nothing could be done for the interior.

The explorations still were kept up by the Franciscans in the hope of better times. In 1811 Fathers Abella and Fortuni went up the San Joaquin in boats from the Bay, crossed by a slough to the Sacramento, and came down its course to San Francisco. It was the first voyage made by white men on its waters, and the explorers found its

banks well peopled by natives, who received the strangers well. Tulare Valley also was several times visited. A number of mission Indians had gone there to live among the savages and had brought horses with them. The Spanish officers feared the wild Indians would use the horses for raids like Apaches, but no force could be spared for a presidio among them. The northern valleys were equally the object of attention with both friars and Governor, on account of the expected settlement of Russians near them.

The actual hostilities with Indians were few under Arrillaga. At Mission San Jose, in 1805, an attack was made by a gentile rancheria on Father Cueva, while visiting some Christians, and sixteen hostiles were killed in a subsequent fight by the mission guard soldiers. At Carquinez, in 1810, a party of Christian natives from San Francisco, while on an excursion for hunting, were attacked by a tribe known as Sacalanes. Sixteen of the mission Indians were killed. Moraga took a party of soldiers to arrest the slayers, and a pitched battle of some importance followed. The warriors numbered a hundred and twenty, and they fought fiercely with lances and arrows against the muskets of the Spanish soldiers. They had set up entrenchments of brush, which were set on fire during the battle, and several burned to death in the flames. Two years later Sergeant Soto, while exploring the San Joaquin Valley, was attacked by several hundred Indians, and had a fight of some hours before they were driven back. These were nearly the only acts of warfare in California under Arrillaga.

Its future, meantime, was being shaped by wars far away beyond the Atlantic. England forced war on Spain, after the Peace of Amiens, with little apparent justification. The Spanish navy created by Charles III. was nearly destroyed at Trafalgar in company with Napoleon's fleet. England planned invasion of the poorly garrisoned Spanish-American colonies. In Mexico a national militia was formed to resist the threatened invasion, and the creole

population joined it enthusiastically. An army of several thousand men was formed and drilled near the capital, the first that had been seen there since its conquest by Cortez. The awakening of the military spirit in Mexico brought unlooked-for results a little later.

The impulse came, however, first from Spain itself and its rulers. Charles the Fourth was only less imbecile than George the Third, and he was passive in the hands of a minister alike incapable and ambitious. Godoy became the follower and tool of Napoleon, who promised him a crown in Portugal, and the public sentiment in Spain revolted against his course. Ferdinand, the heir apparent, finally demanded the dismissal of Godoy. Charles preferred to abdicate, and Ferdinand was duly proclaimed King of Spain, through Mexico and California. His father, however, tried to recall his abdication, and there was some danger of a civil war, when Napoleon persuaded both rivals to submit their claims to his arbitration and come to France for that purpose. He made both prisoners as soon as they were in his power, and named his own brother Joseph, King of Spain. A document of abdication in his favor was prepared by the unscrupulous Emperor, and the signature of the two Spanish Kings attached to it. With his usual audacity, Napoleon thought the Spanish people might accept a member of his family as their King in the absence of the old line, as readily as they had accepted a grandson of Louis the Fourteenth on the extinction of the Austrian royal family a hundred years before. He had meanwhile occupied Madrid and most of the important military positions through the country with French troops. Joseph Bonaparte was suddenly proclaimed the legal ruler of Spain in Madrid, with all the authority of the official departments of the Government of Ferdinand, and in appearance with the consent of that monarch personally.

The Spanish people at first received the usurpation as they had the expulsion of the Jesuits, in sullen silence.

A general outbreak followed, and a French army corps was made to surrender at Baylen, and Joseph Bonaparte driven from Madrid. A Council of Regency was formed in haste to represent the captured King. Napoleon's French troops soon drove it from the capital to take shelter at Cadiz, where it remained for five years as the national central authority, but without either popular election or royal endorsement. The situation politically has few parallels.

In Mexico the public feeling rejected the French usurper as strongly as in Spain, but a further element of doubt was thrown into the question where authority resided. The Audience or Supreme Court deposed the Viceroy, Iturrigaray, on suspicion of partisanship, not to Joseph, but to the old King, Charles IV. Public feeling in Mexico at the time had no discontent with the Spanish Government, though Godoy was unpopular. Napoleon's attempt to substitute his brother for Ferdinand was received there with patriotic indignation by all classes. The Supreme Court and other departments of Government recognized the new Council of Regency, as the legal administration of Spain and its colonies during the captivity of the King. The Regency appointed a new Viceroy, and appealed to the Mexican people for a subsidy of twenty millions for the war against French invaders of Spain. This excited discontent in many, and a desire was awakened to cut the connection between Mexico and the mother country of its ruling class. A rebellion broke out in 1810, under leadership of Allende and Hidalgo, the latter a parish priest near Guanajuato. That city was captured, and the Indian population around called to fight for national independence by leaders of Spanish race. The action of the Supreme Court towards the Viceroy had broken the spell of respect for Government which had lasted two hundred and fifty years. A race war followed, conducted with ferocity on both sides, and lasted the next eleven. It ruined the material prosperity of Mexico.

The population of California had no part in any of these revolutions, the news of which only reached it at distant intervals. No class had thought or wish for a change of government, or knew of the feeling against the Spanish rule that was suddenly developed in Mexico. The insurrection of Hidalgo brought results, however, which made the maintenance of the old Spanish system impossible in California. The troops there had been paid from the customs receipts at Guadalajara, which were seized by the insurgents, who once even captured San Blas and the packets there. The difficulties of maintaining the Spanish army in Mexico itself were too great to allow the Viceroy to help the troops in California, except by very occasional remittances of arms or money. Governor Arrillaga was left to support his men as best he could from the resources of the place after 1810.

He tried to have his resignation accepted the next year, but the Viceroy urged him to continue, as no one could be then spared to take his place. The Governor was practically given authority to do whatever he thought fit, provided he kept up the garrison. As far as any power above him, either in Spain or Mexico, he was a virtual autocrat of California. He used his power with discretion and without any attempt to draw personal profit from it. Even his official salary he allowed to remain unpaid, until better days should come for the Government of his native land.

The pay and support of the four or five hundred soldiers who formed the garrison amounted to nearly a hundred thousand dollars, nine-tenths of which had been habitually paid by the Mexican administration. To raise funds, Arrillaga licensed trading with foreign vessels, on payment of moderate duties. He had refused to take any liberties with the Spanish laws for his own profit when approached by Rezanof, but he felt justified in suspending their action when the existence of the colony under his charge was at stake. He drew nothing person-

ally from the customs received and died poor. As a further resource, he drew supplies from the missions on orders of his own, to be paid whenever the general government should have funds to meet them. There was no novelty or arbitrary action in this proceeding, which Father Tapis and the California friars fully acquiesced in. The missions had for years been used to sell their surplus products to the paymasters for government orders paid in Mexico. The practice was continued, though the payment of such orders had to be indefinitely postponed. It was a matter of public necessity, and recognized so by the administrators of the mission estates.

Both these resources, however, hardly made up a third of the amount that had been hitherto allowed from Mexico. It speaks well for Arrillaga's personal popularity that his officers and soldiers made no mutiny, nor any personal discontent, during the years they were left unpaid. In Australia, in 1808, a British Governor, Bligh, was arrested and deposed by the garrison for much slighter cause of discontent. The Spanish Governor had only his personal character to maintain his authority during the absence of a King in Spain, and the chaos prevailing in Mexico. His soldiers had scarcely arms, the forts were without guns or ammunition; he had not even a revenue cutter to enforce his orders on the foreign trading vessels. The Russian Fur Company planted a military post at Fort Ross in the territory of Arrillaga's Spanish jurisdiction, and he was powerless to prevent it.

Poachers completely destroyed the valuable herds of seals and sea otter of the Californian coasts in the absence of Spanish naval vessels. La Perouse had pronounced the fur trade of California, if properly managed, a source of revenue equal to the Mexican mines. It was ruined by some years' indiscriminate slaughter on the part of the Russian and other foreign hunters. Between 1808 and 1812 four American vessels employed by the Russian Fur Company slaughtered two hundred thousand seals



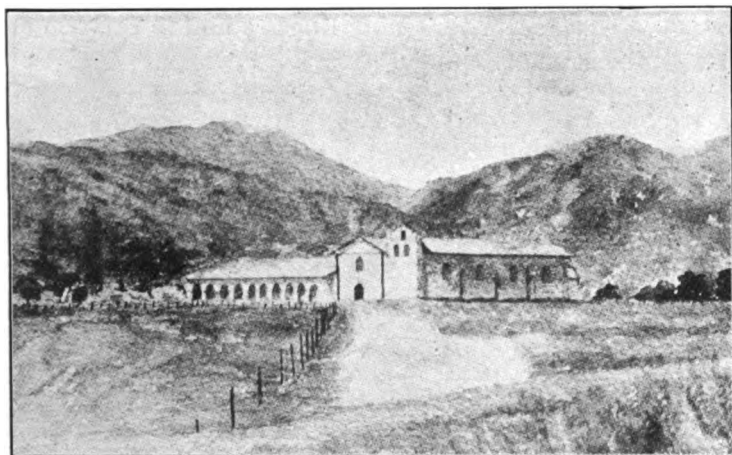
on the Farallones opposite San Francisco. The value of the skins was reckoned at half a million dollars. The Spanish Governor could only look on, or address remonstrances to the Russian Commander at Fort Ross, which were let pass unheeded. The fact indicates the scantiness of the means with which Arrillaga managed to keep up order in the colony placed in his charge. He did maintain it, however. There was internal peace and little suffering in Spanish California, while Spain itself was torn by invasion, and Mexico by revolts. The white population grew from fourteen to twenty-five hundred, and the mission Indians from thirteen to nearly twenty thousand under Arrillaga's administration.

His dealings with the traders were marked with a liberality, in strong contrast with that of many English colonial rulers. In Sydney the two successors of the first Governor, Major Grose and Captain Patterson, took a monopoly of trade as part of their official privileges. They purchased all cargoes landed, at prices fixed by themselves, and resold them to the public at exaggerated rates. Arrillaga allowed the foreign shippers to dispose of their goods as they pleased, on payment of the moderate fixed tariff from which he drew nothing himself.

He did not live to learn of the delivery of his native land from invasion or the return of his King from captivity, though both occurred before the close of his life. He continued to discharge his duties with close application, though broken down much in health, and early in 1814 made an inspection of the whole province on horseback. He broke down while on the road, and was carried at his own request to the lonely mission of Soledad, where he spent his last days in the company of his old friend, the austere Father Ibanez. There he died in July, desiring to be buried in the Franciscan habit. His fortune, amounting to little over five thousand dollars, was bequeathed to a sister in Spain, with legacies to

various servants in California and for two hundred funeral masses.

Arrillaga was sincerely regretted by all classes in California. Of Spanish birth, he had spent most of his life in America. He had been thirty-seven years in active service, of which thirty were spent in California. His military career began under Colonel Anza in Sonora, with whom he served several campaigns against the Apaches with distinguished merit. He was named Governor of Lower California in 1783, and had charge of both prov-



SANTA INEZ MISSION

inces on the death of Romieu. Borica, in 1798, credited him with zeal, prudence, courage, capacity, experience and stainless private character, and urged his appointment as his own successor in Monterey. His dealings with Vancouver and Rezanof showed much diplomatic knowledge and skill, and his large official correspondence shows him to have been a fairly good writer as well as careful administrator. Old Californians who had known him described him to Bancroft as tall and fair, with blue eyes, courteous and affable, though sometimes abrupt and decisive in manner. With the soldiers he was popular, and

usually known familiarly as Papa Arrillaga. Among his officers he was frank and cordial, kind-hearted and witty. Bancroft's summary of his character is remarkable: "From the day of his enlistment to that of his death no fault was found with his conduct by his superiors, his subordinates or the friars. As a soldier, an officer and a ruler, he obeyed every order with zeal, courage and good faith, and with so much tact that he made no enemies."

Contemporary territorial Governors of the United States, St. Clair or Wilkinson, or the English rulers of Australia, Grose, Patterson or Bligh, could hardly receive the same character.

## CHAPTER XVI

### SENAN, PAYERAS AND SARRIA

The administration of Tapis lasted nine years, or about half that of his predecessor, Lasuen. Father Jose Senan was named to succeed him, in the fateful year marked by Napoleon's invasion of Russia. The civilized world was more torn by wars than at any time since the downfall of the Roman Empire. The armies of western Europe were marching against the Russian Empire, in numbers never before collected under one military leader. England claimed ownership of the seas, from which all her old European rivals had been swept by the consequences of the French Revolution. The young American Republic had just taken up the contest for maritime freedom, and was in war with England again. Spain was occupied by French armies, and Napoleon's brother Joseph ruled in Madrid. The only national government was a Council of Regency, sheltered behind the fortifications of Cadiz, and without revenue, regular armies or navy at its control. Mexico, in addition, was convulsed by the insurrection of Hidalgo and Allende, which had taken the form of a race war between Indians and Europeans. In California, however, there was unbroken peace during the administration of Senan, "Padre Calma," as he was lovingly called by his brethren. The administrations of Tapis and Senan were above all others the era of peace in the Californian missions. Various causes contributed to this state of peace. After the death of Charles III. the Home Government gave up the attempts to regulate missionary effort on official lines, which had caused so much confusion during the rule of de Croix and Neve. The local troubles, from interference of the military officers in mission management, had been stopped by the good sense and tact of

Borica, and were not revived under his successors, Arrilaga and Arguello. The latter were of a religious turn, rare in ordinary soldiers, and had no inclination to dispute over petty points of discipline with the Franciscans. The exemption of the Indian converts from taxation had been definitely accorded by the Mexican administration. The Spanish population, mostly connected with the army, followed the example of the military rulers and cultivated friendly relations with both friars and Indians. There were few discordant interests between the two classes. Most of the men of European race drew pay as soldiers, paid regularly, and for the others there was ample land for cattle raising outside the mission reserves.

Though the Government had spent a much larger sum on European colonization than on missions, the material results of the latter were much greater. In 1817 the pueblo and presidio settlers raised ten thousand fanegas of grain, and the Christian Indians eighty-four thousand. The whites owned about twelve thousand cattle, and the three military stock farms about as many more. The Indians of the missions had a hundred and forty thousand. The native Christians were about twenty thousand in numbers, and the population of Spanish race about a sixth of that amount. There was no want among either class, but the continuous labor of the converts, though light in quantity, showed about twice as great a result as the exertions of the higher race, in proportion to numbers of each in the population. There was no jealousy, however, on that account, and the European settlers had no desire to crowd the labor market against the native cultivators.

The continuous growth of cultivation and manufacture among the native converts made the authorities of San Fernando change slightly the organization of the friars of California at the end of the term of Father Tapis. Two Superiors were appointed, one with the title of Prefect, the other the old name of President. The first was

superior in authority, but his duties were chiefly directed towards keeping up discipline and observance of the Franciscan rule among the priests themselves, while the President regulated the temporal and business administration of the natives. The Spanish Government or the Viceroy seems to have made no interference in this change. It shows how much the methods of both had changed since Neve forbade Father Serra to give Confirmation without express sanction from the military Commandant of the Interior Provinces.

Father Sarria of Soledad was chosen as Prefect and Senan as President by the votes of the members of the College. The former received twenty-seven votes for the higher office, the latter twenty-three. There was no solicitation on the part of either, and no clash at any time between the Californian Prefects and Presidents. The former held office for six, the latter three years. On the end of Sarria's term, he retired at his own request.

He began his duties by a circular to his new subjects, which shows, curiously, the strictness of life among the Franciscans on missionary duty in California at the time. Father Sarria had no complaints to make of any misconduct or maladministration, but he reminded his brethren very anxiously of the Rule of personal poverty in their own lives, and the duty of carrying it out, even though charged with the management of large properties. He ordered all Franciscans to make a yearly retreat for their own self-examination, and pointed out some particulars which he considered needed reform. One regarded their lodging, though its simplicity had won the admiration of the French philosopher, La Perouse, when at Carmel. The Franciscan Prefect thought the rooms for the priests in some missions "too large and too much furnished" for cells of friars, poor servants of the Gospel. Their habits, too, he thought, in some places, were made of better material than what ought to be a friar's dress. He especially forbade the use of shoes, and required sandals in their

place, and he also prohibited any Franciscan from traveling in vehicles, and even doubted the fitness of going on horseback. He preferred, like Father Serra, the practice of traveling only on foot, like St. Francis himself. The language of Sarria had all the marks of earnestness, and indicates the closeness with which the austerities of Francis of Assisi continued to be imitated by Spanish friars of the nineteenth century.

The criticism of Sarria on the material used for their habits need not imply any special luxury. It may be explained by an incident among the early missionaries to the Philippines, when a strict Superior forbade for a while the use of silk for altar cloths, as over rich for Franciscan poverty. It was only on representation that linen was more costly than silk in Eastern Asia that the good padre could be got to sanction its use. The use of vehicles of any kind by Franciscans was again forbidden, eight years later, by Father Lopez, the Guardian of San Fernando. He declared that such a practice "warranted the charge of luxurious living" against the Californian missionaries. The criticism of the Superiors of the latter seems much stricter in character than that of outsiders, even hostile. At a later date, however, Father Payeras, in California, relaxed this rule, "in view of the age and bodily weakness of many among them at the time." Most of the friars in California were then old men, who had long passed the ordinary years of Indian mission work, and Payeras decided it necessary for such to guard their health, even at some relaxation of strict rule.

Sarria's instructions on the use of native languages in teaching deserve attention. In some places the military officers had urged that the natives should be taught in Spanish exclusively. They considered they would thus be most readily fitted for the political duties of Spanish subjects.

Sarria was willing to have Spanish taught, but not at the cost of neglecting the more important object of moral

and religious instruction. It, he believed, could best be given in the languages familiar to the Indians, and he ordered all the friars to learn, under religious obedience, the language of the tribes under their care sufficiently to explain the Christian doctrines in them. That duty should not be neglected by any Franciscan. The absence of self-glorification in the mass of missionary documents collected by Bancroft is remarkable. The Franciscans denied strongly charges of dishonesty, cruelty, or maladministration, for the honor of the habit, but beyond that they were singularly modest in claiming any credit for their own work. Lasuen, in his answer to the charges of Horra, simply claimed that he and his brethren were honestly doing their best, though being human they differed one from another in judgment and patience, and sometimes made errors. Father Pena, when cleared from the trumped-up charge of homicide, only asked that public confession should be made of the fact by his accusers, to remove scandal.

Father Senan's appointment was followed immediately by an unexpected calamity, which seems typical of the events which were to work the ruin of the mission system. On the eighth of December an earthquake ruined the church of San Juan Capistrano, the finest mission building in California, with terrible loss of life.

It was built of quarried stone, with arched roof of the same material and a lofty tower adorning its facade. It was in the form of a cross, ninety feet wide and a hundred and eighty feet long, nearly the dimensions of the present Cathedral of San Francisco. Its construction had been the work of several years, and it had only been dedicated six years when its ruin came.

More than forty persons were buried under its ruins, and it was never rebuilt nor replaced by anything more than an adobe chapel. The shock was felt widely, and was followed by others during nearly a month through California. The tower of San Gabriel, the facade of



Santa Barbara Church, and the buildings of Santa Inez were badly damaged. At Santa Barbara there were eruptions of boiling asphalt, which threatened general ruin. At San Buenaventura there was a subsidence of the ground which made the natives abandon their homes for many days. At La Purissima the church and all the buildings, including over a hundred cottages of the Indians were thrown down, and the mission was changed definitely to another site.

The death of Arrillaga was the only other event of public importance during Senan's first administration. The Indian population and the mission wealth continued to increase, in spite of the increasing demands for supplies from the military. Conversions were sought diligently among the savages within reach of the missions. The largest number was in the north. At Santa Clara twelve hundred were baptized, between 1810 and 1820; at San Francisco twenty-two hundred; at Mission San Jose twenty-six hundred. Conversions of outside Indians averaged about eight hundred annually through California during this period. In the south, San Luis Rey showed a remarkable growth, from fifteen hundred to twenty-six hundred inhabitants in ten years. Nineteen hundred baptisms and eight hundred deaths were recorded in the time. A branch mission was founded at Pala, where nearly a thousand natives were gathered. Its church and buildings equaled those of many full missions. A smaller establishment was made at San Bernardino.

San Diego and other missions also founded subordinate settlements, visited from the central mission in the lack of permanent resident priests, who could not be supplied.

The establishment of hospitals at many of the missions was a feature of the administration of Senan and Payeras. It was hoped to find remedy in this way for the prevalence of diseases among the natives. San Luis Rey, San Gabriel, San Buenaventura and other missions, were provided with hospitals, and special chapels and altars were

generally attached to them. The religious care of the sick was always a favorite duty with Franciscans, both in Europe and America.

Father Senan's term as President ended in 1815, and Payeras succeeded to that office. The term of Sarria as Prefect was for six years. On its termination Senan



FRAY ANTONIO PEYRI

became Prefect, and Payeras was continued as President. The two were in charge of the missions when Spanish rule in California ended, and that of Mexico began.

Colonel Sola came to take the place of Arrillaga at the same time that Payeras became mission President. The new Governor did not depart much from the policy of his predecessor towards the missions, though his demands

for aid were larger and his temper less conciliatory than Arrillaga's. The latter had been looked on by the friars "as almost one of themselves." Sola was of another character, and the difficulties of finding funds added to his natural harshness. He had nearly four hundred soldiers on his payroll, whose pay should have been by law about ninety thousand dollars, while at no time had he half that amount in a year. He followed Arrillaga's example in permitting trade with foreign ships on payment of duties, and the Viceroy formally approved his action. The duties collected, however, were comparatively small in amount and quite inadequate to defray the ordinary expenses.

The Governor called on the missions for help. They were tax free by the laws of Spain, but Sola asked their contribution in the form of loans, acknowledged by drafts on the Treasury, and to be paid whenever funds were available. Both Sarria and Payeras acquiesced without hesitation, and during the whole of Sola's government the missions furnished most of the revenues. These unpaid drafts amounted to four hundred thousand dollars, five years after Sola's rule began. Father Payeras, in 1819, sent a circular, which was endorsed by every mission administrator, giving approbation to the Governor's demand for contributions on the grounds of necessity, and ordering his subjects to contribute liberally and without murmur. They were asked to employ their Indians in the production of cloth, the cultivation of hemp and cotton, and other matters needed by the Government, even if they had to neglect vineyards and other occupations. Besides these contributions, the Indians were armed for service, if needed in case of invasion.

The Governor in January of the same year called for a trained body of forty Indian archers at each mission and a hundred and fifty horses ready for service, and Payeras enjoined compliance. The friars showed a realization of their duties as citizens as well as missionaries in the

trying position which political events had brought on them.

A demand of the Governor for taxes, made in 1817, was firmly resisted in the interests of the Indian converts. Both Payeras and Sarria were inflexible on that point. The Spanish law exempted Indian converts in California from all taxation, and their Guardians would not sanction an abrogation of their rights. Sola consented to make no attempt at taxation, in consideration of an increase in the supplies furnished as loans, and the law remained unchanged till the close of Spanish rule.

A little later Payeras, when Prefect, resisted with equal firmness the Governor's demand for invoices of goods sold by the missions to foreign ships. He pointed out that the friars were, legally, the exclusive guardians of the missions, and, as such, not liable to render accounts, which were no part of their duties. He claimed that the progress already made was sufficient proof that the missions were properly managed, and further that they had borne most of the expenses of government for ten years. They were ready to bear it still, though not as a legal obligation. He added that their property, though large, was almost wholly in the form of buildings, cattle or stores. Few missions, he assured Sola, had over a thousand dollars in money, though two or three might have from three to four thousand, which was needed for the transaction of business with foreign dealers.

A month after this letter, Payeras received from the Guardian of San Fernando information that a decree of secularization, passed by the Spanish Cortes in 1813, had been revived by the new Liberal ministry imposed on Spain by the insurrection of Riego in 1820. The Guardian directed immediate compliance with the order, by surrendering to Governor Sola the property of the twenty missions of California.

Payeras was only required to see that inventories of each were made, and signed by both the mission adminis-

trators and representatives of the Government, in the same way as when the missions of Lower California were ceded to the Dominicans.

He at once notified Sola of his readiness to surrender mission properties to his nominees, and wrote to the Bishop of Sonora, asking priests to take charge of the spiritual interests of their people in place of the Franciscans. Many of the latter had grown old in California when this sudden order to quit their work, at the will of a majority in a distant legislature, was sent to them. No complaint, however, was made, and Payeras, in his communication to Sola, expressed not only readiness, but satisfaction at the prospect of beginning new missions among the savages. Sola had no desire to risk the ruin of the community in California by carrying out the decree of the Spanish Cortes. He acknowledged the communication, but replied that he had no instructions on the decree. If he got such, he would act on them, "with the caution and prudence which so difficult a question demanded." The Bishop of Sonora replied in the same sense. The secularization decree had not, to his knowledge, been put in execution anywhere in America, and the Franciscans had better remain at their work. Sola, in a private letter, expressed surprise at the Viceroy's publication of such a decree. It had only reached himself through the letter of Payeras. His own estimate of the duties of a mission President may be judged by his congratulations to Father Payeras on his chance of being relieved from so heavy and thankless a burden, and his sincere wish that he, too, might be relieved from the cares of office as Governor.

That the readiness of the Franciscans to surrender the missions was genuine, is shown by a measure taken three years earlier. The College of San Fernando, finding its own members too few to supply the missionaries needed, offered to cede the nine missions, south from La Purissima, to the Franciscan College of Orizaba. They included

San Luis Rey, the most prosperous of all in California, San Gabriel, San Buenaventura and nearly all the establishments in a prosperous condition. Father Sarria, as Prefect, heartily endorsed this surrender of missions built up by the labor of his colleagues during fifty years. His own desire was to employ his life in the conversion and civilization of the heathens of the interior valleys.

The transfer, however, was not made. The Orizaba College required two years to find the needed missionaries, and meantime Payeras succeeded Sarria as Prefect. He thought it unwise to send the San Fernando friars, many of them old men, to the work of missions in distant districts and among strange people. Such duty he thought could better be done by young men like the Orizaba priests, and he suggested ceding that College the missions north of San Miguel, and employing the administrators of the latter in five new missions in the south, including the Tulare district. These he was willing to raise funds sufficient for out of the products of the existing southern establishments, and the Franciscans were willing to dispense with any guards. The Viceroy suspended the cession of Sarria in consequence and no further arrangement was carried out.

One new mission was added during the rule of Sola. It was that of San Rafael, which was begun merely as an "assistencia" of San Francisco. The motive for founding it was to provide a more healthy location for the Christians of the latter mission in which the death rate was always abnormally large. It was visited with a special fatality in 1815 when nearly a quarter of its population died from various ailments. Payeras, the mission President, sent some of the survivors to the opposite side of the Bay under the shadow of Mount Tamalpais, to see if change of climate might improve their health. It did so notably, and in consequence he founded a regular mission there under the patronage of the Archangel San Rafael in 1817. It was formally founded on the 14th of December

with Sarria as founder and a Mexican, Father Gil, as solitary administrator. Two hundred of the San Francisco Indians settled there at once, and converts from the gentiles increased the population to six hundred in three, and eleven hundred in ten years. The death rate was less than half that at San Francisco. The last mission founded under Spanish rule showed as much vitality as any of the older foundations. In its spirit and in its results one can find little difference between the work of Sarria at San Rafael and that of Junipero Serra at Carmel. The resemblance between the two was marked alike in life and death.

Bouchard's attack on Monterey caused some loss and more alarm to the missions. Santa Cruz was plundered by the Branciforte settlers, and at other places the Indians were armed with their native weapons as auxiliaries to the Spanish soldiers. Purissima, San Buenaventura, and Santa Inez sent bodies of archers to serve with Guerra's militia, and Father Martinez of San Luis Obispo organized his neophytes under the leadership of two soldiers. A comic feature of the attack was furnished by some deserters from the attacking vessel, who remained as settlers. One of them, Rose, a Scotchman, after permission to remain, developed a taste for controversy hitherto unknown in California. He was in consequence required to remove from San Diego to San Buenaventura, where the priests had more time to instruct him, and the natives would be in danger of less scandal from his new opinions. Some Russian and Aleut settlers also tried the patience of the padres in the matter of religious instruction. The Inquisition, it must be remembered, was a part of Spanish Government in California as elsewhere. Its operations were entrusted to the mission Presidents and Prefects. Fathers Serra, Lasuen, Tapis, Sarria, and Payeras were all Inquisitors. The prohibition of forced conversion of natives was in strict accord with the Spanish Inquisition system of America. It applied to foreigners also. One of

the first American settlers resided four years in the country before professing himself a Catholic and, at an earlier time, special caution was required before admitting Russian settlers to the Church.

One case of Inquisition punishment of a Spanish settler at Los Angeles, about 1820, is recorded. Ramon Sotilo was called before a court for "having expressed views on religion which not even a Protestant would dare hold." The prosecuting officer asked as punishment, "that he be kept in jail some weeks and receive daily instruction from the mission priest." Sotilo, however, escaped from jail in a few days, and his case was heard of no more. The missions continued, as a whole, to gain in population and property during the last twelve years of Spanish rule. Despite the contributions levied by Sola, which averaged over twenty-five thousand dollars yearly, their cattle increased to a hundred and forty thousand and their sheep to nearly two hundred thousand in 1820 from a hundred and twenty thousand and a hundred and sixty thousand ten years before. The grain yield in 1821 was a hundred and eighty thousand bushels, the largest ever raised by Indian labor in California. Father Peyri of San Luis Rey had founded a settlement some leagues from his residence which equalled the dimensions of a new mission. It received the name of San Antonio de Pala, and its population reached at one time over a thousand. The priests of San Gabriel founded a smaller settlement at San Bernardino, and those of San Diego, at Santa Isabel, forty leagues from the port. These settlements were visited at fixed times, and had the names of "assistencias." The mission Indians also spread out in little settlements, or ranchos, belonging to the larger missions. The want of priests was the only cause that prevented the extension of conversion to the eastern valleys.

The whole number of Franciscans in California on the death of Father Dumetz, in 1811, was thirty-eight, or two for each of the nineteen missions then existing. Six Fath-



ers, Olbes, Ripoll, Martin, Nuez, Escude, and Oliva were sent from the College the next year, but their arrival was delayed by war, and a pestilence at Acapulco. They only came to California after three years of danger and delay. No others came until 1820, when Fathers Ordaz, Estenega, Ibarra, and Altimira arrived from San Fernando College. The first named was to be the last survivor of the Spanish friars of San Fernando in California, thirty years later. Father Panto had been poisoned at San Diego, and Father Quintana murdered at Santa Cruz in 1812, and four other priests had died during the decade, while four others had to retire through ill health. There were then thirty-four Franciscans in charge of twenty missions at the close of the Spanish rule. The number of Christian Indians at the missions was about twenty-one thousand, an increase of ten per cent in as many years, in spite of the heavy death rate. Indians, in their original condition, were few east of the Coast range. Those of the Channel Islands had all come to San Buenaventura or Santa Inez to escape epidemics in their native homes. Over a thousand converts had wandered away, and were scattered as far as Lake Tulare and the San Joaquin, but they created no hostile feelings among the savages. The Guachamas of San Bernardino spontaneously asked for missionaries in 1816, and a settlement was founded there of Christians from San Gabriel. The Franciscans in ten years had married over five thousand Indian couples, given burial to fifteen thousand and baptisms to ten thousand children and eight thousand adults.

The Spanish and Mexican population was scarcely a seventh of the mission Indians. It numbered less than thirty-five hundred but its increase had been rapid, though with little immigration. There were fourteen hundred births and little over five hundred deaths among the Spanish population in ten years. Some foreigners had already been received to citizenship, the Scotch sailor, Rose, and the Irishman, Mulligan, of Tullybarden, County Down,

being the earliest. The whole number was about thirteen in 1820, to which were added in the next year Jeremiah Jones, a Protestant carpenter of Surrey, England, John Bones, an Irish carpenter, and Philip Fellom, a Danish hatter. The hatred for foreigners ascribed by Captain Shaler to the Spanish Californians seemed to exist only in his own imagination.

Such was the condition in which the downfall of Spanish rule in Mexico left the latest colony of Spain in 1822, after fifty-three years' occupation and mission work. As far as the natives were concerned, no other European settlement could show equal results. The progress of the Spanish settlers was not great, but was marked by no failure or criminal misgovernment. The current of life in California had been singularly peaceful. The lack of pay for the soldiers had been the only complaint raised in it against the Spanish Government, and this was due to circumstances beyond its control.

## CHAPTER XVII

### SOLA, THE LAST SPANISH GOVERNOR

On Arrillaga's death the senior Captain in California became acting Governor. He was Don Jose Arguello, commander at Santa Barbara, and a soldier of thirty-four years' experience in California. Though of Spanish blood, Arguello was a native of Queretaro in Mexico, and had risen to his commission from the ranks of the frontier militia. His record had been very good. Fages gave him high commendation while a subordinate, and Arrillaga before his death described him to the Viceroy as of "good conduct, fair abilities, much diligence and proved courage." In personal character there was much resemblance between the late Governor and his successor, and they had always been close friends. Arguello had reared a large family in California with much care of their education. Three sons held military commissions, and one was afterwards himself Governor under Mexican rule. Another son was sent to Mexico to study for the Church, and was the first priest ordained of California birth. His father was named Governor of Lower California by the Viceroy Calleja, when he appointed Lieutenant-Colonel Sola to fill Arrillaga's place.

Sola arrived in Monterey in May, ten months after Arrillaga's death, and just a month before the field of Waterloo. He was received with a great celebration by soldiers, settlers and priests. Twenty of the latter gathered from the missions and Senan, the Franciscan Prefect, chanted *Te Deum* in the presidio chapel, with a choir of thirty Indian musicians drawn from different places. The news of the restoration of the national King Ferdinand to Spain was proclaimed for the first time by the new Governor, and added to the public enthusiasm. The Cali-

fornians were all loyal to the old Spanish institutions and had no sympathy with either French ideas or the revolutionary agitations in Mexico.

The new appointee was liked, also, personally. He was a man of good education and manners, his family of high standing and he had a brother among the Franciscans of San Fernando who had been on the mission in California formerly. Sola's courtesy and affability to all comers was noticed, and though a strict disciplinarian, he showed himself kindly and impartial in dealing with both officers and soldiers. He often gave away his own clothing to needy individuals of both classes. Like Fages, he was fond of children and took a keen interest in the schools, which he often visited, examined the pupils and gave premiums to the best pupils.

The new Governor on his arrival, disapproved of the permission of foreign trade given by his predecessor and reprimanded Arguello for its continuance, but a short experience showed its necessity. The restoration of the national Government in Spain brought no financial help to Mexico or California, where the straits for means to carry on the public service still continued. They were even increasing in California by the operations of privateers, which, under letters of marque from a revolutionary government in Buenos Ayres, preyed on the commerce of the Spanish colonies in the Pacific. A considerable trade had been developed between California and Peru in the time of Arrillaga and gave sale to much mission products, but about the time of Sola's coming, it was broken up by the raids of foreign vessels which claimed a right to plunder, under cover of aiding the Buenos Ayres insurgents to establish their liberty of Spain. Sola, in consequence, went even further than his predecessors in dispensing with the general customs regulations. He published a formal tariff of revenue, about twenty-five per cent on all goods imported, and allowed the missions to trade freely with foreign vessels of any class on payment of the duties. He

informed the Viceroy, Apodaca, of this exercise of authority and it received at least his tacit approval. The system continued afterwards, with some slight variations, through the Spanish and Mexican period in California.

A Russian settlement lately made in the Spanish territory was one of the first objects that occupied Sola's care. Rezanof's suggestions were followed in 1812 by the Russian Fur Company, without any known sanction of the Russian Government. One of its officers, Kuskoff, in that year built a fort a little north of Bodega Bay and planted a body of two hundred settlers there. The settlement had a military character. A high plateau near the coast was surrounded with a stockade three hundred feet square, with towers on the corners well armed with artillery. The site was protected by deep ravines against land attack, and the number of its garrison made it a much more formidable and costly establishment than the original occupation of Monterey by the Spaniards. Arrillaga protested to its commander against his violation of Spanish territory at a time of peace between Russia and Spain but was only answered by evasion. Kuskoff declared he had no intention of occupying the undoubted territory of a friendly power by force. His only purpose was to raise provisions, for a time for the needy colony at Sitka, and to trade for further supplies with California itself. The occupation was only temporary, but to remove it as Arrillaga demanded, was beyond his own authority. That would have to be ordered by the President of the Fur Company. Arrillaga could get no further satisfaction and had no force to expel the intruders.

Sola found matters in a like condition when he renewed application for the removal of the Russians. The colony had meantime been increased and had planted some hundred acres in wheat near the stockade. The Russians formed a post on the Farallones and their bidarkas, manned by Aleut hunters, were finishing the destruction of the seal herds there. The settlers at Fort Ross, or Russ, as

the post was named, were largely Alaskan Indians and many married native Californian women. Unlike the Spanish colony, there was no attempt made at converting or civilizing from Fort Ross. There was not even a chaplain there, though a chapel was erected within the stockade. One of the officers baptized and married in it, as representative of the State Church of Russia. Finding it impossible to take active measures to remove the Russian colony, Sola after some negotiation permitted it to trade with the Spanish Californian ports on the same terms as other foreigners.

The later story of the Russian settlement illustrates the difference between the objects and methods of the Spanish and Russian people in colonial expansion. The Russians brought some material improvements to California. The first windmill and the first bathhouse there were in Fort Ross, and they also formed a shipyard and built four vessels of a couple hundred tons each, while the Spaniards of California never constructed any craft larger than a barge. The keen pursuit of the skins of the otter and seal by the Russians was also very unlike the comparative indifference to the fishery of the Spanish authorities, which surprised La Perouse. On the other hand the neglect of any attempt to elevate the condition of the natives, or develop agriculture intelligently, was marked in the Russian colony. Twelve hundred bushels of grain was the largest harvest its population ever raised, and most of them found food only by fishing or killing sea birds on the Farallones. After thirty years the Russian colony was abandoned as unprofitable by the company which founded it, leaving nothing behind to mark its ephemeral existence in California. When Spanish rule ended it left a prosperous native population of many thousands, at least, as its monument.

Though the restoration of the national Government in Spain, after the expulsion of the French invaders, brought no immediate change in California, an incident of its

course had considerable influence on the subsequent history of its missions. When the provisional Government of Regency got temporary control of Madrid, before the release of Ferdinand from his detainment in France, it tried to frame a New Constitution for the Spanish monarchy. One object was to raise funds to meet the public debt caused by the war with Napoleon, and the Spanish statesmen thought they could be found in the public lands of the colonies. They had been by the old practice reserved for settlement to actual occupiers only, the system being fixed as early as the time of Charles the Fifth. The New Constitution ordered half the public lands through Spanish America to be sold, absolutely, to any purchaser in full ownership. To expedite the action of the new system, it abolished the right of Indians in missions to common lands, which had been guaranteed by Spanish law since the time of Las Casas. The framers of the New Constitution limited the term of any new mission, under these conditions, to ten years' possession of the lands it was founded on. After that time all communities of Indians whether long established or newly converted were to be "secularized." An entirely new meaning was attached to that process by the Spanish statesmen, who were all unacquainted with the conditions of America, and asked no advice of experts on the proposed novelties in legislation there. Hitherto it had meant merely a change in the clergy of the district from friars to parochial priests. The New Spanish Constitution further ordered that, on secularization, plots should be granted to individual Indians, and the rest of their lands sold for the benefit of the treasury.

Ferdinand on his return from France refused to endorse the proposed Constitution, and it consequently had no legal effect. It was hardly mentioned in Mexico where, though the authorities were as needy as in Spain, the impossibility of realizing any returns from sales of the public domain was understood by all. In California, though Sola sought anxiously for any available sources of rev-

enne, he never thought of the alienation of the public lands, and much less of the breaking up of the mission communities on which the support of the country chiefly depended.

His needs were urgent. The province in his charge was threatened with attack both by the Russians and the numerous privateers then in the Pacific. Though he had five hundred soldiers they had neither pay nor many of them arms. A consignment of six small field pieces, a hundred muskets, two tons of powder and twenty thousand cartridges, were all the resources he could obtain from the Viceroy of Mexico. The military supplies in California may be judged of by an order issued by the Governor to employ duplicate official papers to make cartridges, and to bring the little cannon used for saluting at the mission churches, to be mounted at the presidios for defence. He even ordered the drill of Indian archers, as an additional force against invasion. The mission administrators were called on urgently to furnish support in the shape of supplies and sometimes, though rarely, of money, and Payeras and Senan cheerfully complied. The contributions from all the missions during Sola's time amounted to twenty-five thousand dollars annually.

A curious illustration of Franciscan ideas relative to public taxation was given in a letter addressed by one of the most esteemed missionaries, Amoros, on the point of charging fixed high rates to foreign vessels for supplies sold them. Father Amoros thought such a course neither generous nor honorable. "Foreigners were God's children also, and in a degree brethren of Spaniards." The Franciscans further thought it unfair for the Governor to fix prices at which the foreign goods might be sold, though the practice was common in most distant settlements either French, English or Spanish at the time. Father Amoros certainly showed more charity than familiarity with the practical spirit of commercialism.

In spite of the unprotected state of Sola's command, he



was only once called to meet actual war. Two piratical cruisers, commanded by a French adventurer, Bouchard, and manned by motley crews of all nationalities, made an appearance at Monterey in 1818, on the twenty-first of November. One of them came close and engaged the fort, which returned the fire with such effect that the privateer struck her flag, and sent a boat ashore with three men who were kept as prisoners. The larger vessel then came up, and the two landed a couple of hundred men the next morning. As Sola had only twenty-five he retreated, after spiking his guns, and the invaders burned the presidio and some houses, after which they retired. They landed again near Santa Inez and plundered a ranch belonging to the Ortega family. Sergeant Carrillo with thirty men hurried up from Santa Barbara, and Father Payeras sent forty Indians from the mission there as auxiliaries, while Father Martinez led thirty more, armed with machetes, from San Luis Obispo. The hostilities were confined to the capture of three of the invaders, an American, a negro and a Paraguayan, who had wandered out from the plundered ranch and were seized by the Indians. Bouchard, a couple of days later, anchored at Santa Barbara and offered to leave the coast if the garrison would agree to an exchange of prisoners. Commandant Guerra agreed for "the sake of humanity," but was disgusted when he learned the next day that the invaders had but a lone prisoner to exchange. He was not even a soldier, but a Californian of drunken habits, who either remained in Monterey at the time of its capture, or wandered among the filibusters when drunk. Bouchard protested he was the only equivalent he had to offer for his three men, and generously offered to let Guerra inspect his vessels if desired. The commandant finally agreed to the unequal exchange "in the interest of humanity." Bouchard did not keep his promise and landed a party, later, near San Juan Capistrano, but the damage they did was trifling. When the filibusters had disappeared, four deserters presented

themselves at Santa Barbara, one being the negro returned by Guerra to Bouchard and another a Scotchman, John Rose, who subsequently remained as a settler in California. As no life was lost by the Californians, the chief result of the invasion was to add seven to the population, between deserters and prisoners, and the promotion of Sola to a full colonelcy. The prisoner surrendered by Bouchard fared the worst of all. He was sentenced to a hundred lashes and six years in the chain gang as a deserter to the enemy. Chapman, the American, and Rose,



SAN FRANCISCO OLD MISSION

the Scotchman, among the prisoners or deserters, were regularly enrolled among the colonists by Sola. Gilroy, another Scotchman, had already been naturalized by Arrillaga in 1814, and an Irishman, only known as Romero, a little earlier. An American, Thomas Doak or Duke, had been admitted to citizenship in 1816. Thomas Chapman, of the same nationality, was one of the deserters or prisoners from Bouchard's crew, and became a special favorite with the missionary fathers. The Scotchman, Rose, his companion, displayed a readiness for controversy on religious points which rather scandalized the padres at

San Gabriel for a while. It was thought best to keep him away from the Indians, lest his Calvinistic theories might disturb their peace of conscience. Rose, however, finally confessed himself satisfied with the instructions given him, and was duly baptized and married. The readiness with which the deserters from Bouchard's privateer ships were naturalized does not bear out Shaler's charge that hostility to foreigners was a characteristic of the Spanish Californians.

The foundation of San Rafael Mission, in 1817, was partly due to the advice of Sola. Besides the advantage to the health of the San Francisco Indians who settled there, the Governor was anxious to extend missions to the north, as some check on the apprehended Russian settlements. For the same object he ordered an extensive exploration of northern California four years later. Captain Arguello, the son of the former Governor, conducted it with sixty soldiers, and a large body of Indians was sent to ascend the Sacramento River as far as possible, and to find a road from its course to Bodega and Fort Ross. Father Ordaz accompanied as chaplain and chronicler, and the Scotchman, Gilroy, as interpreter, in the event that English or Americans should be found settled anywhere like the Russians.

The expedition left San Francisco in boats, landed at Carquinez and traveled nine days up the Sacramento to near the foot of Mount Shasta. About fifteen Indian rancherias were met with, but no indication of foreigners. Some of the tribes were numerous. Goroy had a thousand inhabitants according to Ordaz, and Guiritoy sixteen hundred. The first named was protected by a stockade, which indicated a stronger tribal organization than any found among the coast Indians. The northern tribes, however, offered little hostility except a skirmish near the large rancheria of Guiritoy, in which they were scattered by the discharge of a field piece. An Indian from San Fran-

cisco Mission acted as interpreter and had no trouble in conversing with the natives along the river.

Near Mount Shasta, the expedition left the Sacramento and marched westward fifteen leagues to a mountain range, which they entered and traversed for nine days towards the ocean. The natives spoke a strange language and on one occasion attacked the Spaniards, but usually they received their visitors without trouble. The route was difficult and several horses and pack mules were lost or died before they came in sight of the ocean. Provisions were running very short and the country towards the sea very mountainous, and in November they got down to the valley drained by the Russian River near where Cloverdale now stands. The river's course showed a practicable road to Bodega Bay, but the party were short of provisions, the winter was threatening and Arguello put off its examination till the next year. His party traveled through the Santa Rosa and Petaluma Valleys and reached San Rafael in three days. It was the last and farthest exploration made in California under the rule of Spain. Its objects and methods were much the same as Portola's first journey to Monterey. Mission sites were sought, as well as military protection for the province, and Father Ordaz laid out the former as diligently as Crespi had done fifty years before.

Though little could be done in the way of supplies, two Mexican companies were sent to California after Bouchard's attack, one of cavalry, the other of infantry. The first, from Mazatlan, was a well disciplined body, but the infantry company was inferior to the usual standard of Californian soldiers. It had been hastily recruited in San Blas, and petty offenders were allowed to commute jail for military service. Sola complained to the Viceroy of the character of this force and sent several back. Father Payeras objected to any of them being employed as mission guards. The nick-name of "cholos," halfbreeds, was given to the San Blas soldiers by the Spanish Cali-

fornians, and was the first symptom of national lines between Spaniards of white race and Mexicans in California.

Indian hostilities on a large scale were threatened in the southern missions a few months after the departure of Bouchard's ships. A party of Mohaves came from the Colorado to trade with the Indians of San Buenaventura Mission, and were received there with caution by the padres who distrusted their intentions. A disturbance happened among the strangers and one of the soldiers fired on them. A fight followed, in which two soldiers and a Californian were killed with ten of the strangers. A war party of Mohaves came later to burn San Gabriel and killed some Christians whom they met on the way. Ensign Moraga was sent on a punitive expedition to the Colorado with sixty men, but had to return without reaching the river, through lack of water on the road. The fears of Indian invasions continued, and in consequence the old policy of not allowing the soldiers to bring runaways back to the missions was suspended and detachments were several times sent to the country beyond the Coast Range to capture fugitives. On one of these a battle occurred on the San Joaquin in which twenty savages were killed. Governor Sola, however, made it a practice usually to conciliate the "gentiles" by gifts and making yearly agreements for good behavior with the chiefs of all the larger rancherias. In that he only followed the policy of Borica and Arrillaga. Arming the mission Indians for defence was introduced under Sola. At Santa Barbara Father Ripoll kept up companies of Indian archers and lancers, and had them regularly drilled. Their efficiency was never, however, put to the test.

The year before Arguello's expedition was marked in California by the first announcement of the Constitution framed in 1813 by the Provincial Government of Spain. At the end of 1820 Governor Sola, who had lately received a renewal of his commission and military promotion from the Viceroy of Mexico, was suddenly ordered by the same

authority to take, and administer to the soldiers in his charge, an oath of allegiance to the New Constitution of the Spanish Monarchy, as Arrillaga had been twelve years before directed to swear allegiance to the successor of Charles the Fourth. The document so described had been imposed on Ferdinand six years after his rejection of it, by a military insurrection led by a general of little prominence, but some popularity among the soldiers, Riego. A ministry of which Riego was a member was imposed on the King, and it called a Cortes and made the New Constitution, with some slight changes, the fundamental law of Spain and its colonies. The Mexican authorities, sufficiently burdened with the contest with the revolutionary parties in their own province, accepted the change in the Home Government without discussion, and transmitted the orders of the Riego ministry to California. The form of oath laid down by the Viceroy suggests a certain distrust of the New Constitution to which fealty was required, but of which no copy appears to have been furnished Sola. It ran, "Do you swear to observe the political constitution of the monarchy framed by the National Cortes, and to be faithful to the King?" The answer was simply, "I do swear." It left open the point of where allegiance was due in the event of collision between King and Cortes, and seems to have been framed for that end in view of the known difference of opinions in Spain on the legality of the New Constitution enacted under military insurrection. Both Sola and the Superiors of the Franciscans accepted the official form of oath of allegiance.

One effect of the New Constitution appeared a few months later, when the Guardian of San Fernando informed Father Payeras of the provision that required the breaking up of all missions more than ten years established. The absurdity of such a measure in California at the time was too obvious to allow of its execution. Father Payeras informed Sola of his readiness to sur-

render the mission properties at once to Government agents, and start himself to begin work among the savages beyond the mountains. Sola declared he had no agents to take charge, and further that he had no intimation from the Viceroy that any change in the missions was intended. He asked Payeras to continue his work undisturbed.

The land legislation of the New Spanish Constitution was not noticed at the time, though had its application been carried out it would have upset all existing property arrangements through Spanish America. The framers of the Constitution required half the lands in the public domain to be sold absolutely to capitalists as soon as possible, and the proceeds applied to payment of the national debt of Spain. From the other half, grants in absolute ownership were to be made, of portions to all settlers in pueblos and missions, and to soldiers and others whom the local authorities might see fit to choose. The common ownership of pueblo and mission lands was in fact to be suppressed. It had been established through all Spanish America since the time of Charles V, after a trial of the European feudal landlord system during fifty years in the Spanish colonies. To that system the Cortes of Riego proposed to return immediately, as a measure of modern progress. The New Constitution proposed to change the land tenure of a continent at the hurried decision of the body, none of whose members seemed to have any knowledge of its conditions.

The New Constitution, itself, lasted little over two years in Spain. It was then abolished by the conservative element in the population, aided, it should be said, by a French army. Its provisions, however, were at a much later time used by Mexican rulers in California to complete the ruin of the missions by selling the lands of the natives, after a farcical distribution of a few garden plots as individual allotments.

The Spanish legal system of common ownership for

Indian lands was not confined to missions formed by priests from their converts. Whole tribes, heathen or Christian, like the Yaquis of Sonora, were recognized as legal owners of tribe lands occupied by them, on payment of a small tax to the general Government. The division of the soil among individual cultivators was left to the chiefs or councils of each tribe. Where savages were gathered into mission settlements the lands occupied by them were treated in the same way, as a common possession of the community. No strangers had a right to encroach on tribe or mission lands, and individuals in each had only such occupation as their chiefs or missionaries might arrange.

The European settlements had like principles. A tract of some square leagues was allotted as a townsite for every new pueblo and the common property of its settlers. Individuals got titles only to their house and garden lots, the use of the rest was regulated by the village councilors. Public lands, outside the pueblos or tribal districts, might be granted by Governors to individuals for occupation, but only during actual use and as a personal privilege. They could not be sold, mortgaged or transferred by the grantee and if not cultivated they returned to the public domain.

Had they been carried out, the land sales ordered by the New Spanish Constitution would have upset property rights among both Europeans and Indians through all the colonies. The Mexican authorities did not even attempt to put them in execution. The Constitution itself was received with disgust by most Mexican loyalists. They had nearly ended the Indian revolt and restored peace in Mexico when Riego's revolt came to weaken the authority of the Government, which they had been struggling for ten years to maintain. Many loyalists thought it might be the best to call Ferdinand to take up his residence in New Spain, as the Portuguese Court had removed to Brazil some years earlier. The feeling crystallized in a



Mexican military revolution a year after Riego's Spanish one, and brought about the political separation of Mexico from the Spanish monarchy.

Iturbide, a loyalist general of Mexican birth, was chief agent in this revolution. The new Spanish ministry had meantime, further irritated Mexican sentiments by ordering the Jesuits lately returned to the country to be again expelled, without reason given. In the course of 1821 Iturbide invited several leading officers of the royal army to confer with some of the leaders of the insurgents at Iguala. A program for restoring peace was issued by them jointly. It was to make Mexico an independent monarchy on the lines of Spain, but with a constitution suited to its own special needs. Some member of the Spanish royal family was to be invited to become Emperor of Mexico, but if none would accept some other should be called. Iturbide laid his plans successfully to have the choice fall on himself after a few months.

The Plan of Iguala met almost general favor from the military and most of the insurgents. A Council of Regency was named, with Iturbide as its head, at once. The Council, supported by the army, took possession of the capital and the machinery of the Viceregal Government unopposed. The garrison of Vera Cruz alone held out in opposition. Even the Viceroy, O'Donoju, accepted the new situation and returned to Spain after turning over some archives to the new Regency.

The Californian garrison learned of these changes only in March, 1822, when Governor Sola was called by the Secretary of State of the new Empire to take the oath of allegiance to it as the legal successor of the Spanish monarchy. The demand was like that which had been made by the Spanish Council of Regency at the time of Napoleon's deposition of Ferdinand. The new Government sent no troops to enforce its authority. It only asked the adhesion of Sola and his garrison as a measure that should commend itself to their intelligence and loyalty. The old

Government and laws were to be maintained in California and Mexico, and the separation from Spain was only an act of political necessity, if they were to be maintained at all.

Sola called his officers and the Prefect and President of the Franciscans to help to decide the question. Seven of the first and Father Payeras came to Monterey and deliberated for two days carefully. They all decided it best to accept the new order, especially in view of the unsettled condition of the Spanish Government in Europe. Father Sarria sent his approval "after much thought and praying God to grant it might be for the best."

Sola next tendered the oath of allegiance to the garrison at Monterey and, through the post Captains, to the soldiers of all the presidios. They all took it without objection and as the soldiers numbered nearly seven hundred, it might be supposed they stood for the whole white population of California. The Governor ordered the flag of Spain to be lowered at Monterey, and the eagle and nopal of the Mexican Empire raised in its stead. It was just fifty-three years since the Spanish flag was raised over Californian soil by Portola and it fell, as it was raised, without bloodshed or strife.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### THE MEXICAN EMPIRE

The acceptance of the new Empire caused but slight changes in the government of California. A commissioner from the Regency, the Canon Fernandez, came to superintend the needed changes. The original Regents had called a Congress and later a Constituent Assembly in Mexico, before any communication was made with distant Monterey. Fernandez desired the Californians to elect a deputy to the Cortes, shortly to be chosen as the Legislative Body of the Empire. He also informed Sola that Iturbide would be the Emperor, though he was not formally chosen and proclaimed until the May following. Sola accepted the Canon's statement, and a *Te Deum* for the inauguration of the Mexican Congress was accompanied with public prayers for "Augustin the First, Emperor of Mexico."

The Commissioner further required the Indians in the missions to be called to take the oath like the soldiers, and otherwise to be counted full citizens in California. They were to join the Europeans in electing five representatives to a provincial legislature which was to regulate the local affairs of California, subject to the general laws of Mexico, which were the old ones of Spain, until regulated otherwise by the Cortes. The election methods were fixed by the commissioner. Each pueblo, presidio and mission chose a delegate, and the delegates elected five assemblymen to form a permanent Council of the Governor. It was prescribed by the Commissioner that the members of the Junta should be neither soldiers nor priests. They were consequently taken from the few young men of good families who were not engaged in military service. In the primary elections soldiers and settlers alike voted, the former

being about three-quarters of the adult Spanish population. In the missions the Indian *alcaldes* and councilors, who had been themselves already elected by their countrymen, were the only persons who chose the local delegate. The forms of popular election were well known in California under Spanish rule, if the powers of the elected officers were not extensive.

The five deputies were chosen and sworn within a few weeks of the first proposition to change from Spanish to Mexican allegiance. Sola directed the measures necessary, in the old military style of authority, and Fernandez regulated the details needed to make them conform with the new constitutional principles of the Plan of Iguala. As the elected deputies were not soldiers, the commissioner decided that three officers should be added to them for the election of the Member of the Cortes. By his own authority, he also ordered the suppression of the military guards hitherto kept in the *pueblos*, and the addition of a secretary to the existing municipal officers in each.

The Junta of Eight elected Sola deputy to the Cortes. The office was not new in California. As far back as 1809, Governor Arrillaga had been authorized, through the Viceroy, to send a representative to the National Assembly of Spain, at the time of Napoleon's invasion. He took no action on the matter, however. The Junta fixed the salary of the deputy on this occasion at four thousand dollars, and how to raise that amount excited some discussion among all classes. Father Sarria made a suggestion which showed a curious ignorance of practical politics. He assumed that no man could draw pay for two offices, and as Sola was already a Colonel, he advised him to draw his military salary from the Mexican Treasury instead of his civilian one from California. Sola's experience of military arrearages during the last ten years made him scout the idea. The missions were called on to contribute for the deputy's pay and they did so.

Canon Fernandez had, on his coming, promised full pay

of the long arrears due both soldiers and officers, and his promise had doubtless weight in securing their acquiescence in the new regime. He was equally liberal in promises to pay the accumulated drafts due the missions and the salaries from the Pious Fund. The latter had passed, with other property, from control of the Spanish Viceroy to the authorities of the New Empire. He desired the Franciscans, meanwhile, to forward full statements of the mission properties to Iturbide. Sola at the same time called on them for a large loan. When Payeras complained that all public charges seemed to be laid on the missions exclusively, Sola curtly replied that the answer "was insolent and only tolerated because the Franciscan President was only used to talk with Indians, not officers."

Fernandez before leaving California visited Fort Ross and warned its commander to leave in the name of the Mexican Empire. There was some fear in Mexico that the Spanish Government might cede or sell California to Russia, which would have been a serious matter, but was not tried by Spain. The Imperial Commissioner, as the best check on possible Russian expansion, advised the foundation of new missions north of the Bay. Sola and he sailed together from California before the close of the year. Iturbide had ceased to be Emperor when they reached the capital of Mexico.

Sola resigned office on his election as deputy to the Imperial Cortes, and by direction of Fernandez his successor was chosen by the new Provincial Assembly. It elected Captain Arguello, son of the former acting Governor. His title was not Governor but military and political chief (*jefe politico militar*). He took office, as representative of the Emperor Augustin the First, in November, 1823. The same month the following year he received information that the Empire had ceased to exist and had been replaced by a republic, to which he was required to transfer his allegiance without delay. Alaman, the new

secretary, at the same time forwarded him thirteen decrees to be published as laws in California. The imperial political chief promptly accepted the new authority. The term "national" was substituted for "imperial" in all public documents, and any support of Iturbide declared treason to the State. The Plan of Iguala had brought odd results.

A new document of a like kind was submitted to Arguello the next month. Some leading men in Durango thought that a secession of the districts, once included in the Department of the Interior Provinces, might be a good experiment. They invited Arguello as military head of California to cast his lot with them in founding a new Republic of Northern Mexico.

He was puzzled this time and called counsel to help him in deciding. The five assemblymen were summoned and also the four military commandants, whose experience was more relied on than that of the new legislators. The body decided to continue in connection with Mexico, and in view of the various changes that seemed likely to come, they added permanently two officers and the Mission Prefect as ex-officio members to the local Junta. This body gave Arguello the full powers of a Governor under the old regime, and directed the military force to be kept up at its full strength at the same pay as before.

It further confirmed the old practice by which the military officers discharged the duties of civil and criminal judges. There were no lawyers in California and the officers, as the best instructed persons in the country, were accepted without hesitation by both soldiers and settlers to settle their disputes. They also acted as advocates, and in criminal cases any person, whether white or Indian, had the right to call on the services of any officer as his legal representative.

Captain Arguello and the young members of the Junta marked their acceptance of republican institutions by a more vigorous exercise of powers than California had

known before. The assembly ordered constables to be appointed in place of the military police, which Fernandez had suppressed at the pueblos. The new functionaries were charged to arrest promptly "all vagrants and idle or lazy persons," and send them to work for the public in the presidios, at six cents a day. Borica had allowed the English escaped convicts twenty cents for support but the young Californian legislators were harsher. Arguello, in virtue of his own authority, issued some remarkable proclamations. Citizens were not to travel outside their pueblos or presidios without written passports. Stealing was to be punished with Draconic vigor. Petty thefts, under value of six dollars, were to be expiated by ten years' imprisonment at hard labor, instead of the old whipping post or stocks. If the amount stolen was over six dollars, the culprit was to receive two hundred blows of the rod laid on by files of soldiers. Death was decreed as the penalty for all thefts over the value of twenty-five dollars.

The Governor and Junta showed their ideas of republican government even more remarkably in the first measures adopted towards the missions. While the Imperial Commissioner was in California he had suggested the removal of the Indians from San Francisco to some place beyond the Bay, on the grounds of climate and the importance of pushing settlements northward as a protection against Russian possible encroachments. Sola supported the proposal, as he wished the mission lands near San Francisco to be given to white settlers. The Franciscan president would not sanction the measure, as he thought it unjust towards the natives, and the matter was dropped for the time.

Arguello took up the project after his acceptance of the Republican system of Government. The assembly, at his suggestion, ordered a commission made up of one of its own members and Altimira, a young priest lately arrived, to cross the Bay and find a site to which San Francisco Mission might be transferred with all its people. Argu-

ello held no consultation with the Franciscan Superiors on this important change. He merely informed the Prefect that the local assembly had ordered the suppression



CHURCH OF SAN CARLOS, MONTEREY

of San Francisco Mission and the removal of its inhabitants elsewhere, as a matter of no special importance. Altimira and the young Californian deputy set out to determine a location for the transfer without waiting an answer from the mission Superior. They visited the valleys of Napa, Petaluma, Suisun and Sonoma in quick succession, and decided without hesitation on the latter as the best location. Father Altimira further marked out the site for the buildings on his own authority. He merely notified his Superior of what he had done when he returned to Monterey.

Father Senan was on his deathbed when he received the letter of his subordinate, and gave no immediate answer. Arguello took his silence for assent, and promptly directed Father Altimira to begin the Sonoma Mission at once, and remove the whole population of both San Fran-



cisco and San Rafael there as quickly as possible. Their own opinion was not even asked. Father Senan learned of the order informally, and though too weak to write, he dictated from his dying bed a protest against the gross injustice of the proposed deportation. He urged that no action should be taken at San Rafael, and that the San Francisco natives should be left full liberty, either to remove or remain in their old homes.

Father Senan passed away almost immediately after signing this protest. Father Sarria succeeded as Prefect, and followed the last instructions of Senan by forbidding Altimira to take any part in the new foundation. The young Political Chief was indignant at this opposition and wrote to Sarria, asking if he claimed more authority over mission foundations than the Governor and Assembly. The Franciscan Superior answered courteously, but with firmness, that by the laws of Mexico the establishment or abandonment of all missions belonged to the missionary authorities, not to local officials. He added that the Indians had the same rights as other citizens, and could not, lawfully, be removed from their homes by a proclamation of a Governor or the decree of a provincial assembly.

Arguello's dignity was much ruffled by Sarria's letter, and he threatened to complain to the Mexican authorities of the Franciscan's conduct, but on reflection he agreed to a compromise. Sarria consented to found the Sonoma Mission, and to place Father Altimira in charge of it, on condition that the establishments at San Francisco and San Rafael should not be disturbed. Any residents of either mission who wished to remove to Sonoma might do so, but the change was to be left entirely to their own choice. Those of San Rafael, further, were to be free to return to their old mission if they found their new abode unpleasant, and all converts were to have free choice of their residence. The Franciscans' ideas of personal lib-

erty seem much more liberal than the new republican Governor's methods.

Under these conditions the mission at Sonoma was founded the following year under the name of San Francisco Solano. About half the population of the old San Francisco mission moved there, and they were increased during the first year by nearly a hundred accessions from the neighboring savage tribes. Out stations were formed at Suisun and Petaluma, with Christian Indians as managers. The change of climate proved advantageous, from a sanitary point, to the San Francisco Indians. There were only three hundred deaths in five years, while the number of baptisms, including converts reached six hundred and fifty. The cattle and sheep increased to four thousand in the same time, and the annual harvest gave two thousand bushels of grain. Father Altimira only remained two years at Sonoma and was succeeded by Padre Fortuni.

The California missions lost their Prefect, Payeras, almost at the time of Iturbide's coronation as Emperor of Mexico. He died at La Purissima, his old mission. He had accepted the separation of California from the Spanish crown, after long deliberation with Sola and his officers, and was spared the various disputes over oaths of allegiance that soon came to harass the Spanish friars. Father Payeras was only fifty when he died. He had been three years Prefect, and filled the office of President five years before. He was also commissary of the Inquisition in California, and altogether had passed twenty-seven years in mission work there. Bancroft, who had good opportunity of reading the correspondence and papers of Payeras, thus gives his opinion of his character:

"There was no friar in the province of better or more evenly balanced ability. He was personally popular through his affable manners, kindness of heart and unselfish devotion to the welfare of all. It was impossible

to quarrel with him. Even Governor Sola's peevish complaints never ruffled his temper. He had extraordinary business ability, was a clear and forcible as well as a voluminous writer, and withal a man of great strength of mind and firmness of character. Called to rule the friars at a trying time, when a trifle might have involved them and the soldiers in a quarrel fatal to the missions, Payeras saw but one line of policy by which to escape existing difficulties, and from that he never wavered, though it often seemed to put him in opposition to his own friars. His firmness must have often seemed harshness to his subordinates, and they would hardly have borne it so well from any other prelate. He had all the zeal of Serra and more than the shrewdness of Lasuen." This is a remarkable character for a country friar to display when called to public life. The members of San Fernando College seem to have had the faculty of picking out the best men as rulers. Payeras, it may be said, was from Mallorca, the country of Junipero Serra.

Father Senan as President succeeded Payeras, but his health too failed, and he died four months later. He was the oldest missionary in California, having come to San Fernando College almost the month in which Father Serra died. He was a native of Barcelona and had entered the Franciscan Order at fourteen years of age. Bancroft describes him as "the superior of Payeras in scholarship, his equal as a missionary, but inferior as a politician and leader. He also was a model missionary, though shrinking from the cares of office. He was averse to all controversy except on theological points, and rather more of a religious, strictly so-called, than Payeras. He disliked to issue orders, but was ever ready to answer the many calls of his brethren for advice." Father Senan had been named by the College authorities to continue the history of Palou, but the increasing cares of the mission work did not leave him the time needed. A few days before death he named the former Prefect, Sarria,

as his successor until the College nomination should arrive. The College confirmed Father Sarria as Prefect of the missions in 1825, and named Narcisco Duran, of Mission San Jose, President at the same time. Father Sarria's refusal to forswear his Spanish allegiance and consequent arrest has been already described. Father Duran was equally resolute on that point, though three or four other friars accepted the oath, "as far as compatible with their profession as priests and Franciscans." It does not seem that the action of Father Sarria had any material influence on the conduct of the Mexican authorities towards the missions.

Another exercise of arbitrary action by the Governor and young assembly legislators led to a bloodshed before unknown in the Californian mission history. Not satisfied with the advances made without payment in the form of loans, the Political Chief and assembly levied an unconstitutional tax on the products of Indian labor. They required a tithe of all cattle and corn to be paid to the province, and Arguello added an additional six per cent as a loan to the Mexican Government. The military officers, at least some among them, followed the example of Arguello and threatened freely to supply themselves at their own discretion from the stores in the various missions. They also claimed to chastise the Christian Indians whenever they thought fit. At Santa Barbara the post Commander told Father Ibarra, when he complained of excessive demands, "to change his tone when speaking to officers or he would have cause to regret it." The autocratic manners of both officers and soldiers seemed to develop rapidly with the introduction of new forms of government, resting chiefly on military dictation.

Payeras advised his friars to submit to the illegal tax. He wrote: "I believe we ought to give a part to save the whole. If, on account of the short crop, we decline to give what is asked, the military will tithe everything and take

more than they now call for." The friar administrators obeyed his advice, but in some places the native workmen were less patient. Their feeling was strongest in the Channel missions, the most intelligent of all the Californians. At Santa Inez the flogging of a native by Corporal Cota brought on an outbreak. Some Indians attacked the soldiers, and then a large body went to Purissima, where they were joined by the whole population. They overpowered and disarmed the mission guard and sent its members and their families away, after a fight. No violence was offered the soldiers when prisoners, though several Indians had been killed in the fight. Three or four Spanish Californians, of the class, seemingly, that the new constables had been employed to suppress, were also accidentally killed. They arrived at the mission in search of hospitality while the guard and natives were fighting and were slain in the melee. One of them was the Ramon Sotelo, who had figured in the Inquisition records a couple of years earlier. There was no violence offered the priests in charge, and the anger of the Indians was entirely against the exactions and tyranny of the soldiers.

The two priests, Ordaz and Rodriguez, tried to calm the excitement after the soldiers were sent away, but with only partial success. Father Ordaz went to Santa Inez to urge delay in any attack from the soldiers there until time was given for reflection. The Indians at La Purissima made no aggressive movement beyond sending messengers to other missions asking help from their countrymen against the soldiers. They also formed stockades around the mission buildings and cut loopholes in the adobe walls in some places.

The fight at La Purissima caused much excitement among the Santa Barbara Indians. The presidio, with its garrison, was near, and sufficient guarantee against serious trouble. Fathers Ripol and Jaime, the mission administrators, asked the Commandant to withdraw the

small guard from the mission and leave the quieting of the Indians there to themselves. Captain Guerra, a veteran officer, consented, but as the guards were leaving some disturbance occurred and the soldiers shot two natives. A panic seized the population and the majority left the mission in a body and started for the Tulare Valley as a place of refuge. They did no damage to the mission buildings as they left, but brought one of the priests with them, either as a protector or a hostage.

The flight of the natives caused a military demonstration of merciless severity. Those who had stayed were cut down by the soldiers, who plundered the cottages. The Franciscan administrator had to record the burial of twenty-eight of his flock, shot down by the military in punishment of a movement that had not caused a single loss of life.

Arguello, on receiving report of the revolt at Purissima, vindicated his authority with needless force. He sent a hundred men to attack the mission, though Sarria pleaded for peaceful negotiation as quite sufficient. Father Rodriguez, the assistant of La Purissima, who remained with the natives all through, made like requests, but was unsuccessful. The soldiers under Lieutenant Estrada attacked the buildings and occupied them, after killing sixteen of the defenders. The latter had scarcely any arms except bows and machetes, and only one soldier was killed in the hostilities. Estrada executed seven of his prisoners summarily, and sent four others to long slavery at a distant presidio. Arguello described the proceedings with strong self-satisfaction in his dispatch to the Mexican Provisional Government, but blamed Estrada for over-lenity to the natives. The tendency to more violent methods of rule than those of the Spanish Governors was strongly marked in Arguello's action.

The fugitives from Santa Barbara were followed by the soldiers, after the taking of Purissima, but they were unable to surround them. They killed four or five near

Buena Vista Lake, but the main body made their escape into the wild Tulare country, where the military thought it risky to follow them. As the Indians were badly needed as laborers, Arguello finally agreed to grant a general pardon if they would return to the mission. He sent at the same time a large military company after the fugitives. Fathers Sarria and Ripol went in person to the Indian camp, and after some persuasion, induced the natives to come back to their homes. They were in all four months away. This first revolt of mission Indians in California occurred during the formation of the first Republican Constitution in Mexico, but before its promulgation. Arguello's action was commended by the Mexican Secretary and the soldiers employed were allowed a month's extra pay. It was given in the form of orders on the Treasury.

While the young Governor was so strenuously enforcing his ideas of republican methods in California, the leaders of the Mexican people were trying hard to find a form of government to replace the old Spanish rule. The Empire, tried as the result of the Plan of Iguala, collapsed of its own weight. There was no Mexican with any qualifications to keep him in the rank of a monarch, hereditary or constitutional. Iturbide had none beyond those of a brigadier general, and generals of all kinds were numerous in the late Viceroyalty, both on the loyalist and insurgent sides. The first meetings of the Cortes showed the powerlessness of the Imperial authority, in spite of its sonorous title. Iturbide was proclaimed Emperor in March, solemnly crowned in July, required to abdicate the following March, and sent into exile in May, 1824. The Cortes named a Provisional Government to replace his administration and then deliberated on what form of institutions would be best suited to the conditions of the country. The majority decided on a Federal Republic on the model of the United States, and a Constitution was framed accordingly in the year of

Iturbide's exile. General Victoria, one of the leaders in Hidalgo's revolt, was chosen first President of the Mexican Republic.

The occasion was thought by the Mexican Assembly to call for a general oath of allegiance to the new Constitution. Oaths were regarded at the time as an important agency in maintaining governments, though Iturbide's experience might well have raised doubts. California in the new system was classed as a territory, subject to the President in its administration, though with local control over its internal police, like that of an American territory. Arguello as temporary head of the territory was required to take the Oath of Allegiance and took it easily, as he had those to the Empire and the Provisional Government. His example was followed by all the officers and soldiers, after a public reading of the new Federal Constitution. It was then tendered to the Franciscans. Father Sarria, the Prefect, felt he could not take it in conscience himself. He had already sworn allegiance to the Spanish Government, and the oath to the Mexican contained a specific engagement to take arms against Spain in the event of war, though in the case of the old priest the obligation was only nominal. Sarria felt that conscience forbade him to make even an unmeaning declaration on oath. "I have decided," he wrote to Arguello, "that I can not take the oath to the Federal Constitution of the Mexican States without violating the lawful obligations I have already made in good faith. I say so with regret, as I desire to show example of public respect for the law, now as hitherto, but can not in this case without betraying my conscience. I learn that we are threatened exile if we refuse, but I must endure it, much as I should regret leaving my beloved flock. The task which I undertook for God's sake I will lay down if need be at the will of the same God, to whom I have prayed for your honor's welfare." The resemblance between the language of the Spanish friar to the Californian Governors



and that of More to the ministers of Henry VIII., when called to take the oath recognizing the Royal Supremacy in the Church, is striking. The majority of the English clergy accepted it as a mere legal form, but More preferred to forfeit life rather than use words which did not represent his inward belief. Sarria's objection was similar, and most of the friars showed equal delicacy of conscience. Some of the assemblymen urged that the Franciscans should be removed from management of the missions in consequence. Arguello, who realized that it would lead to immediate troubles, declined to follow this course, and contented himself with reporting the action of Father Sarria to the Mexican administration.

Though refusing the oath personally, Sarria, as Superior, left it free to the friars under his obedience to take or refuse at the conscience of each. His action in this was also like that of More on the occasion mentioned.

Arguello's hope of continuation in office as Political Chief was disappointed. The Mexican President, after the Constitution had been accepted, named Colonel Echeandia, an officer of engineers, Governor of California. The Secretary of State, Alaman, had already investigated the missions and the Pious Fund. A permanent "Committee on Californian Development" was also appointed by Congress, with Sola as a member. It gave some reports in which the wealth of the missions was much exaggerated. One estimated it at sixty or seventy thousand dollars for each of the twenty establishments, and supposed that this amount could at once be realized by the Mexican authorities. The Committee also advised that the debts due to the missions by the Mexican Treasury should be discharged by sending colonists at public cost to California. Convicts from Mexico or Asiatics from the Philippines were suggested as desirable settlers at this time.

Echeandia's powers as a Republican Governor were almost the same as the former Spanish rulers. The chief

change was that an independent official was appointed for the Revenues. The Governor brought about forty Mexican soldiers and some young officers, as well as eighteen settlers drawn from the jails. Money was scarce in the Treasury of the new Government, and somewhat less than fifty thousand dollars was all that could be sent to pay the long-promised arrears of the Californian presidios. Echeandia was directed to ascertain by examination what funds could be raised for the Mexican authorities in California, either from customs or the mission property.

A report of the Californian Development Committee was given to the Governor by way of preliminary guide on the last point. It reads like some of the letters between Neve and de Croix forty years before: "Conversion of the savages is desirable, but ought to be effected only through visits of priests and friars, authorized by the government and supported from the Pious Fund. The friars at existing missions should remain as parish priests, but only until the Indian communities could be made regular parishes, with secular priests. The selection of sites for missions, on the new plan, should be made by the territorial assembly. The general government should take the temporal administration of the missions, and form regulations to preserve the property and well-being of the natives. It should also suppress the mission guards, but provide full protection for persons and property in some other way."

The reasons for these recommendations were given further by the Junta de Fomento. They illustrate the manner in which the old ideas of men like Galvez and de Croix were taken by the rulers of Mexico as principles of republican institutions just adopted.

"The Junta is well aware that all progress made in the missions of old and new California has grown from the Spanish system of exploration and religious settlement. It knows the praise which these establishments have merited, both from Spaniards and from enlightened

foreigners, and it has weighed the reasons generally given to show this system not only just and expedient, but necessary to attain the ends desired. The Junta, however, can not reconcile its principles with those of our Independence and Constitution, *nor with the true spirit of the gospel*. Religion under it can not advance beyond domination. Heathens must renounce their natural independence from the moment of baptism, and continue without hope of getting the full civil rights of society. The Junta believes this system positively opposed to the political aims to which it should have been directed, and *still more to the true spiritual aim* which should be kept in view. The present condition of the missions does not correspond to the progress they made in the beginning. The decay is noticeable in Lower California, and would *suffice to prove* that the system needs change and reform, especially in the temporal management by the friars." The Junta apparently did not know that administration by state officials had been tried in Lower California by Galvez, and abandoned after a few months' trial.

With the arrival of Colonel Echeandia the Mexican Republican Government was definitely established in California. Arguello's rule had been a transition period between the methods of Spain and Mexico. The new Governor came by sea to Loretto, and traveled thence overland. He stopped at San Diego and made it his permanent residence as Governor through liking for its climate. A Mexican Captain, Gonzales, was sent to Monterey to replace the Spanish commandant, and Herrera, the Financial Commissary, displaced the California storekeeper, Estrada, there. The Governor called Arguello to San Diego to surrender his office, and the other did so with little good will. Echeandia ordered three months' pay to the Californian soldiers as an earnest of their arrears, but the Commissary refused to pay the money, on plea of economy. The Mexican soldiers alone

received regular pay. It raised some feeling among the former soldiers of Spain.

The attention of the Governor was next given to Sarria. Victoria had ordered Arguello to deport him as a punishment for refusing the oath of allegiance. Arguello had declined positively. Echeandia thought it best to follow the same course, but he warned Father Sarria to consider himself under arrest. He next called Father Duran, the new President of the Missions, to take the same oath, but he refused, like the Prefect. He wrote his reasons: "They were not any objection to Mexican independence, or personal bitter feelings, but he was wearied with the number of oaths of allegiance during the past few years. They tended to make such obligations a mere farce." "I am ready," he concluded, "to take an oath to do nothing against the existing government. If this is not enough, I am ready for exile." The Governor did not urge the matter further, and both Sarria and Duran continued their usual duties.

## CHAPTER XIX

### THE FIRST MEXICAN GOVERNOR

Colonel Echeandia did not compare favorably in energy with the Spanish Governors who preceded him. Fages, Borica, Arrillaga and Arguello had been men of action, and had made it their first duty on taking office to examine all the posts personally and repeat the work often. The new Governor did not even visit the capital for some years, and left the presidios entirely unlooked after. He remained at San Diego, at first on the plea of fatigue, and afterwards of poor health, and showed no inclination to military duties, which had been the chief employment of other Governors.

The new officer had, indeed, no record as a soldier, and had seen little actual service. He had been Principal of a military college in Mexico when chosen to rule California by President Victoria. He had fair education and good manners, with considerable skill in what are now called "practical politics," but did little or nothing during his term for the material or military interests committed to his charge in California. He called officers, friars and members of the Assembly to San Diego whenever he needed conference with them and made no effort to learn the condition of his extensive province by personal inspection. In sentiments towards the missions Echeandia was very like Governor Neve, though there were forty years between them. Both, it may be said, were of Mexican birth and education, and there was otherwise much likeness between the two. The Acting Governor before Arrillaga, Arguello, though also of Mexican birth, was quite different in character from either Echeandia or Neve.

The first incident of Echeandia's administration was

the refusal of Herrera, his Financial Colleague, to pay the Californian soldiers at the Governor's order. The new regime in Mexico had given the Governor military, civil and judicial control in the province, but made its revenue an independent branch of government. In that department Herrera was supreme and only subject to the President of Mexico. As all the means to carry on the administration had to be found in California itself, during the empty state of the Federal Treasury, the Governor found this condition intolerable, and planned to modify it to his own ideas as soon as possible. Meantime the Californian veterans remained without pay.

An incident of Indian war, a few months after Echeandia's arrival, indicates a changed temper in the California soldiery since the change of government. The Indians of the mountains between San Diego and the Colorado were said to be threatening, though apparently for no special cause. Alferez Ibarra was sent with some soldiers to overawe them, as Fages had done. He attacked the rancherias suddenly and without any loss of his own men slaughtered eighteen at one place and twenty at another. The soldiers cut off the ears of the slain and presented them to the new Governor, who received them and ordered rewards for the trophies. It was a change from the time when Bucareli had ordered pardon for the murderers of Father Jayme in the same locality.

The new ideas in Indian treatment were further illustrated by another expedition, under Ensign Sanchez, into the San Joaquin Valley against the Cosumnes. He killed forty gentiles, thirty of whom were said to be women or children. A couple of years later another ensign killed fifty natives, without any loss to his men, in their homes, near Lake Tulare. It was stated by some present that three men and three women had been killed in cold blood after the fight, and Father Duran, though himself liable to banishment at the Governor's will, charged the officer in command with murder. It was proved before a mili-

tary commission of investigation, but the only result was that one of the slayers was reprimanded. The new government boded little benefit to the Indians of California.

It was not that the Governor himself had any vulgar race antipathy to Indians. At the time that he was accepting the six dozen of Mohave ears his Secretary, Lieutenant Pacheco, was sent to Capistrano Mission to inform the Indians there that "a new chief had come to them as a friend and would give them equal rights with the Spaniards." Lieutenant Martinez made the same promises to the Indians at San Luis Obispo, and assured them that they would be carried out "in a few days." Echeandia himself issued a decree that any mission Indians who had been fifteen years baptized might go wherever they pleased, on application to the military officers for passes. He also reduced the punishments that might be given by the administrators from twenty-five strokes to fifteen. If more were needed by the character of any offence, it should only be administered by the Corporals. The Governor further showed his sympathies with the Indian race by asking Congress to change the name of California to Moctezuma, the famous Mexican cacique. He desired his province further to have as official seal, "An Indian with plume, bow and quiver, crossing a strait." It would be a memorial of the coming of the race to America, across the Strait of Anian.

The question of what to do with the Spanish friars occupied Echeandia from his arrival. On Sarria's refusal to take the oath he called several of the other Franciscans to San Diego and proposed it to them. Father Peyri of San Luis Rey was willing to take it, as all were, if the clause were added "as far as compatible with our profession and religious vows." Father Martin had already taken an oath of allegiance and thought it wrong to repeat it without need. The Governor did not see fit to add the clause required by the Franciscans, and the matter was

let drop. It seems to have been felt both by the Governor and the Mexican administration that Father Martin's opinion was correct. Echeandia some time later wrote to the Secretary of the War Department that all the friars were willing to take the oath. It is uncertain whether he meant with the qualifying clause, or simply wanted to get rid of questions from the War Office. It is only clear that the Allegiance Oath question made no further figure in California, except in a vague form in letters.

Another motive of complaint was soon developed against the friars apart entirely from oaths. It was their Spanish birth. Congress in Mexico in its early sessions passed a decree expelling Spaniards from Mexican soil. The decree, it is commonly said, had its origin in the rivalry in office-seeking between the Yorkinos and Escoseses, the Masonic Rites in which most of the Mexican leaders were enrolled during the Revolution. The Yorkinos were chiefly old loyalists and Spaniards, the Escoseses, creoles of the former Hidalgo party. On the fall of the Empire the latter had a majority in Congress and used it to pass the first decree of expulsion of Spaniards, to secure themselves in office. It was sent as a matter of form to Echeandia, but he saw the impossibility of enforcing it in California. Nearly the whole white population there was of Spanish origin and knew nothing of the squabbles between the Mexican Creoles and Spaniards. Many of the officers and soldiers were born in Spain, including Captains Guerra, Fabregat and Estudillo. The handful of Mexican soldiers that had been sent with Echeandia would be powerless against the five or six hundred old soldiers, so the Governor made no attempt to enforce the decree or even publish it.

The ministers at the Capital were aware of these circumstances, but wrote to suggest the application of the decree to at least the friars. Echeandia's answer, which gave his reasons for not applying it to them, was cynically plain and not overscrupulous in matters of fact. He stated



there were only three Mexican friars in California and twenty-four Spanish friars. If the latter should leave the missions would be without administration and the whole population without the means of public worship. He added without scruple that the friars themselves were asking their passports, but that he could not let them go. He added some particulars of individuals which are of interest as regards the character of the Franciscans. Fathers Peyri, Martin and Suner had taken the oath of allegiance, with permission of their Prefect Sarria, Victoria had one time been willing, but on further reflection refused it. Three others unnamed had taken the oath, with exception of the promise to bear arms against their native land, and four were willing to take it in the same form. Fourteen had simply declined to swear. The Governor added, "they were nearly all men of high character and to be commended for fidelity in the discharge of their duties. Some were invalids, and three over sixty years of age. Victoria was also above that age, faithful, obedient to the laws and of blameless life." To suit the requirements of the decree Echeandia assured the Secretary he would banish eleven of the Spanish priests as soon as he could get Mexicans to replace them, but he had to assure him that the other thirteen could not be disturbed without ruining the material interests of California as a Mexican province.

Guerrero had succeeded Victoria as President at this time and the answer sent to Echeandia's plea for delay was a new and more sweeping decree against Spaniards. All were to be expelled without distinction on the mere grounds of birth place. The Governor was directed to expel all Spanish friars who had not taken the oath of allegiance at once, and those who had, a month later, unless too ill to be moved. He made no attempt to comply with the orders, as, indeed, it was beyond his power. The pueblos of San Jose and Monterey had sent vigorous petitions against the whole proscription law,

and especially demanded that the people should not be left without their spiritual guides. They professed also their deep respect and affection for the Spanish friars themselves. There was also discontent among the soldiers. Echeandia transmitted the petitions to the President, with his own endorsement of them, and received an informal reply that whatever the text of the decree the President had no desire to remove the Spanish friars. The Governor's request to have the Pious Fund placed at his disposal to settle arrears to the missions was passed in silence.

The interests involved in the maintenance of the missions at the time fully account for Echeandia's fears of losing the presence of the friars, however little good will he felt towards their institute. The Mission Indians had grown to nearly twenty-two thousand when he came to California, and had been increasing every decade for forty years. They numbered seventy-five hundred in 1790, thirteen thousand in 1800, nineteen thousand in 1810, and over twenty-one thousand in 1822. This was without counting the Christian Indians scattered in rancherias as far as Tulare or settled among the white population. The converts raised seven-eighths of the farm produce; the missions had gathered two hundred thousand bushels in a single harvest. All manufacturing in the province, weaving, tanning, leather work, flour mills, soap making, was carried on exclusively by the pupils of the Franciscans. It was more than doubtful whether they could be got to work under any other management, and a sudden cessation of labor might ruin the whole territory. The Governor waited for a better opportunity to realize his projects for secularization, which he never forgot while pleading for permission to keep the friars meanwhile as valuable though unpaid public agents. He suggested to the Mexican Secretary to lay additional taxes on their Indians meanwhile, and gave florid accounts of the supposed wealth already accumu-

lated. "He was assured that some had from seventy to a hundred thousand dollars stowed away. It was a tempting prize, if it could be realized, to a Government which could only raise fifty thousand to secure military possession of all California."

Echeandia, it should be said, had no intention of sending the proposed taxes out of his own jurisdiction. He had cares of his own in California more urgent than deporting friars. The control of the provincial revenue, which the Constitution had removed from the Governor's powers, had to be got back, if possible. He used the local assembly adroitly to accomplish it. That body had no control over the Federal administration, but among the California ranchers there was no knowledge of the distinctions between Federal, State and territorial laws. The assembly was peculiarly easy material for a skilled manipulator to manage. It had been formed hurriedly, when the Mexican Empire was proclaimed, and on the authority of the Commissioner of Iturbide. That functionary had advised Sola and his officers to form an elective body, merely to give a form of constitutionalism to the new regime. He had also advised that the Indians should vote, so as to learn statesmanship by practice. The regulation introduced by Fernandez forbade the election of either priests or soldiers as legislators in the assembly. As all the older male population of intelligence in California belonged to these two classes, this condition resulted in the election of untrained young men exclusively to the local assembly. So little weight was at first attached to their functions that when the proposal for a Northern Republic was made to Arguello, he at once called two old officers and Father Sarria to tell the young assemblymen how to act, and he added two officers permanently to the five deputies. Echeandia called an election soon after his coming, and had seven deputies chosen, but no old officers among them. He also dispensed with voting of the Indians on his own authority.

Echeandia convoked the newly chosen assembly at San Diego and treated the young Californians with marked condescension and affability. His position gave his instructions on the new Constitution of the Republic unquestioned acceptance and the deputies followed the directions of the polished Mexican officer with the docility of a school parliament. His first measure was to elect a Congressional Representative to succeed Sola. The position was a very honorable one in the eyes of the native Californians, and the Governor recommended Captain de la Guerra, the senior military officer, for Representative. The Captain was a friend of the missions, and his absence from California would leave the Governor much freer in measures dealing with them. He was also a Spaniard, and as such there was no risk that he could have any influence with Congress in the existing temper of that body. As a matter of fact, when he reached Mexico he was refused even his seat and threatened with banishment as a Spaniard. This, however, could not be expected by the Californian assembly, and the election of de la Guerra increased the popularity of the Governor and was taken as a sign of his good will towards the missions.

The next measure proposed was to remove the Federal Revenue Collector. The Governor desired the assembly to investigate charges made by himself against Herrera, in secret session. He was not even informed of the charges nor asked to reply. The assemblymen pronounced him guilty and wished to remove him from office. As this would mean the appointment of a successor, Echeandia did not sanction the last step. He took another course and used the charges of the assembly as grounds for a public investigation of Herrera by himself. As territorial judge he decided that the Federal Commissioner was subject to the Governor in application of funds and appointments in the revenue service. Herrera protested indignantly, and appealed to the

Treasury Office in Mexico. He threw up his office meanwhile, and declared his intention of going to the National Capital to seek redress. Echeandia as Governor forbade him to leave Monterey, and sent his own account of the case to Mexico in the shape of a report. He detained the revenue in his own hands pending an answer.

The Governor's administration of the revenue brought no pay to the long-suffering soldiers of the old establishment. The garrison in Monterey finally concluded that patience had ceased to be a virtue, after four years of unpaid service to the Republic. In the end of 1829 they mutinied, arrested their officers and invited a neighboring ranchero, Solis, to take command of a general military insurrection. Solis had been a guerilla chief during the Mexican Revolution, and after its close had been convicted by the courts of atrocities committed on Spaniards during its course. He was transported to California in punishment, and was of the eighteen convicts that came there with the first Mexican Governor. Echeandia had granted him some land near Monterey, where he was living when the mutiny occurred. He joined the mutineers at once, in the old spirit of a professed revolutionist. Herrera, the Customs Commissioner, drew up a manifesto for the insurgents in eloquent language of the new school:

"The Governor had neglected the instructions of the general Government; had scandalously abused his authority; attended only to his own interests and those of a few favorites; and disregarded the complaints of his hungry and naked soldiers. He had failed to call a deputation elected by the people, and agriculture, trade and education were consequently neglected. The public funds had been grossly mismanaged, and the Commissioner appointed by the General Government displaced arbitrarily from office. The military movement was only the resistance of free men to tyranny, made by soldiers consumed with want, weakened by hunger, and awakened to action by the sight of wives and children without

clothes and threatened with starvation." Herrera's eloquence was at least equal to Echeandia's on the missions.

The revolted did little beyond levying some contributions on the missions and pueblos. Father Duran, at Mission San Jose, refused to contribute and was not molested. The San Francisco garrison joined the movement and Solis marched to Santa Barbara with a hundred men. The Santa Barbara soldiers at first were inclined to join him, but were persuaded by their officers to remain in their duty. Echeandia sent a hundred and fifty men from San Diego, and after some days the rebels scattered without a battle, beyond some firing at too long range to hurt either side. Monterey was retaken in January, after a general pardon had been promised all who would lay down their arms. Solis was arrested on his ranch by another Mexican convict, Avila, and the insurrection was ended in three months, without loss of a life.

Echeandia used the abortive insurrection to secure his own position with the Mexican administration. He had no scruple in describing it as an attempt to restore the dominion of Spain in California, though its leader was a Mexican revolutionist and his assistant an official of the Mexican Republic. When the mutiny began the Governor announced his fears of a general insurrection of the mission Indians, and his difficulties in keeping harmony with "the disaffected Spanish friars." He called urgently for soldiers and money to put down the rebels and for Mexican priests to replace the Spanish. After the capture of Solis, he, with Herrera and other prisoners, were deported to Mexico. The Governor named a Military Commission of four of his Mexican officers to investigate the rising, and they reported certain "facts showing the object of the Solis faction was to pronounce for the Spanish Government." The facts were that three soldiers had been heard to say that they would rather pronounce for Spain than surrender, and that Solis had

written to one of the priests that he would do the same. The priest had not answered his offer. The Mexican authorities showed the value they placed on these statements by releasing all the prisoners when they landed.

Without waiting for instructions the Governor decided to make an example of the supposed disaffection of the friars. Father Martinez, the administrator of San Luis Obispo for thirty-two years, was chosen. He had been outspoken in his opinions on the methods of Mexican politicians since Echeandia's coming, and had asked then to retire from California. The Governor had refused to let him leave, on the ground that his services in San Luis were necessary for the public. Martinez was known as one of the ablest administrators in California from a business point. The cloth of the San Luis looms, the flour of its mills, and its mules and horses were the best in the territory. The padre had unbounded influence over the Indians, whose language he spoke familiarly, and whose clothing and personal comforts excited the jealousy of the Spanish soldiers. He had, however, been most liberal in furnishing them with supplies since the beginning of Hidalgo's insurrection, and was nearly as popular with the military as with his Indians. He was now arrested and tried by Echeandia's Mexican officers on the charge of conspiring with Solis to restore the authority of Ferdinand. Martinez indignantly denied the accusation. He had been asked to aid Solis, but had promptly refused, and he added he was not such a fool as to think that a revolt in California could be any benefit to Spain or its King.

The only act alleged was that San Luis Mission, like most others, had furnished food to the rebels when demanded. On this Echeandia's military court sentenced Martinez to exile, and he was sent on an English vessel to Callao some time before Solis and Herrera were sent to Mexico. It need not be said that no part of the salary due for his services in California was paid on his sum-

mary deportation, after thirty-two years of public service.

With all his zeal for raising the condition of the Christian Indians, Echeandia thought well to deprive them of the right of voting, which had been granted on the first proclamation of the Mexican Empire. They had been called to elect the members of the deputation in 1824 and in 1826, but in 1828 the Governor decided that only the pueblo and presidio population should have votes. The change was made without other legal authority than the judgment of the Governor, and illustrated the value of the rights which he promised the natives when emancipated from the mission system. In the same year he applied to the Mexican Government to replace the Spanish friars, and urged the importance of new missions among the savages east of the Coast Range.

There had been a change in the administration of Mexico a little before the Solis insurrection. The new President, Bustamente, did not share the hostility of his predecessors towards Spanish residents, and he and the majority in Congress were favorable towards the California missions. Echeandia had sent a plan for their suppression in 1829, which was favorably received by the Liberals then in power, but was rejected by Congress the next year. A new Governor of California was appointed in March, almost simultaneously with the deportation of Father Martinez.

Echeandia took an audacious measure on receiving the notification of his removal from office, which was accompanied by an order to make no change in the mission system. He called the local assembly to meet at San Diego, and laid before it a project for immediate secularization. The seven young legislators were ready to accept any recommendations of the plausible reforming Governor without question of their legality. Padres, the newly arrived Adjutant-General, had moreover won their confidence by his eloquence and the visions of wealth for themselves which he held out as the consequence of sec-



ularization. The mission produce would be largely increased by modern methods of management under lay agents, and the agents, of course, could only be chosen from the assemblymen and their friends, if the friars were removed. Padres indeed had further projects of his own, but they were not told to the assemblymen. They were urged to secularize the missions, mainly for their own benefit.

Echeandia's plan to make pueblos of the missions was laid before the local deputation on the twentieth of July and approved by that body in four days. It made no criticism of the existing mission system, nor of the Spanish nationality of the friars in charge, but only recommended changes in the legal form of the Indian settlements. They were to be pueblos, not missions, and to be governed by elected regidores and alcaldes, instead of the friar administrators. The plan placed most of the mission property at the disposal of the Governor, after these changes had been effected. The emancipated Indians were to receive each a house-site and three acres of ground in property. They were also to get three cows and as many horses and sheep, with a yoke of oxen and some tools from the mission stores. For one year they were also to receive rations from the stock in the granaries, after which time they would have to support themselves. The other mission lands, as well as the buildings and cattle, were to become the common property of the new pueblo. Other citizens, however, might be admitted to these pueblos at the discretion of the Government, and no provision was made for further distribution among the Indians of either lands or other property, though the whole had been created by their labor and hitherto recognized as belonging to them exclusively. The undistributed balance was to be managed by administrators appointed by the Governor and its proceeds applied to public uses. As the Indians at the time numbered about twenty thousand, it is fair to suppose that five thousand heads of

families would be entitled to the liberal provision of land and cattle offered by the Governor. It would require less than twenty thousand acres of the mission lands, which included over a million acres under the Spanish laws. As the missions owned a hundred and sixty thousand cattle and as many sheep, while only a tenth of the number was specified for distribution among its actual owners when emancipated, the plan placed almost the whole mission property at the Governor's disposal.

The Governor's motives in framing it, however, in his own words to Figueroa, were wholly philanthropic. He "proposed to settle the order and peace of the territory by changing eighteen thousand conquered and needy bondsmen into free men and proprietors." The commercial plans of Padres had no share in Echeandia's motives for overriding the law he had sworn to enforce.

The California assembly approved his plan and recommended it to the Mexican Congress as desirable legislation to be made by that body. It had already been submitted by Echeandia to Congress and rejected, as he was quite aware. Carrillo, the Representative of the territory, had described it as "alike unjust and ruinous to the common interests." Echeandia, with his own term of office already marked, did not wait for the General Government's sanction to seize the mission properties. He decreed the immediate secularization of Carmel and San Gabriel missions and named agents to take over their property in January, 1831, when his successor had already arrived in San Diego and Echeandia himself been called to resign office as Governor. He played for delays by writing to Victoria suggesting various places for the change of office to be made. Victoria ended the matter by coming to Monterey and requiring Echeandia to surrender the Governor's office. He did so, and, as Governor, Victoria at once annulled the decree of secularization already issued as illegal. Echeandia did not leave California, but stayed in San Diego to form plots against his

successor. He had called an extra session of the assembly at Monterey the very day that Victoria arrived there. Victoria promptly dissolved the gathering and as most of the members seemed illegally chosen, he wrote to Mexico for election instructions before a new session.

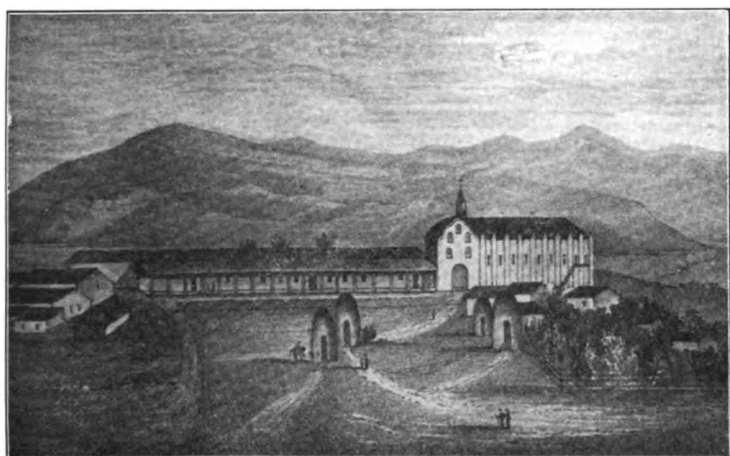
Padres as Adjutant General remained in Monterey under Victoria's administration. The new Governor was a tried soldier and had won his rank by hard fighting during the Mexican Revolution. He had none of the political ability of Echeandia or Padres, and they soon found means of exciting trouble among the young Californians who had been drawn under their own influence. Padres had signed the illegal secularization decree as Echeandia's deputy, the Governor being too timid to commit himself. He now urged an extra session of the assembly, which Victoria had dissolved as of doubtful legality, and was waiting instructions to settle its validity. The Governor after some months arrested him and sent him to Mexico on a charge of plots against the established government.

His rule was, otherwise, energetic and severe, though impartial and just. Four criminals were executed within a few months at Monterey, but only after full trials the justice of which was not questioned. The rigorous action of Victoria, after the lax methods of his predecessor, caused some discontent, which was skilfully worked by Padres before his deportation, and by Echeandia in San Diego. The assembly members whose election had been questioned were specially busy against Victoria, who had little military force to support his authority and besides was not personally a political partisan of Bustamente's Mexican Administration.

A few weeks after the deportation of Padres three of the late members of the assembly, with the garrison at San Diego, repeated the course of Solis at Monterey and pronounced against Victoria's authority. Echeandia joined them and named himself acting Governor on his

own authority. The revolted marched on Los Angeles, released the prisoners in jail there and gathered about a hundred and fifty men of all classes as an insurgent force. Victoria, with only thirty men, hurried there from Monterey and boldly confronted the insurgents in the name of the law. He called personally on the soldiers among them to return to their duty, and as they hesitated he charged the whole body with his handful of men.

They broke and fled in confusion at the first attack, but three of the prisoners from the Los Angeles jail turned



MISSION SAN GABRIEL

and made an attack on Victoria, while in front of his little party, with only an officer and a couple of soldiers. The officer, Pacheco, was killed, as was one of the assailants, and Victoria was wounded by a lance thrust. He had to be carried off the field to San Gabriel, and there was no one to take his place.

Echeandia's runaways gathered again and surrounded the wounded Governor in the mission. His escort made no resistance and the Governor surrendered and was sent on board ship to Mexico. His rule ended within less than a year.

Victoria's deposition practically ended the rule of law and made stable government impossible among the Spanish Californians. The motives alleged for it were utterly petty, the chief being that he questioned the legality of an election of seven assemblymen. He had the right to examine its validity and had referred his action to the regular judges in Mexico to pass on. A delay of a year in the session of the assembly was the only public inconvenience complained of, and to avert that, a handful of malcontents took arms and left the country for as long a time without any government whatever.

The responsibility rested mainly on the late Governor. He had trained the young Californians in the legislature to think their body, of half a dozen elected members, the absolute ruler of the country, regardless of constitutional restraints. His action towards Herrera had begun the training in practical anarchy, his secularization measures, in open defiance of the President and Congress, completed it. His teachings and those of Padres, outside of legislative action, had raised ideas of sudden wealth to be gained by members of the assembly from the mission property at their own discretion. The young aspirants to administrations were astonished to find their plans prohibited by Congress, and they broke out against the government of their country in the spirit of school boys balked of a holiday. In California, as in most countries, the authority of the legal authorities had been accepted without discontent or question for over sixty years. The Solis revolt was only over the refusal of pay to some soldiers, who tried to collect their dues by force. Echandia's insurrection was a claim that any personal discontent was warrant for upsetting the whole government of California. All the later revolutions were made on like childish lines.

The success of the revolt was won almost by accident. The temporary disablement of one man by a lance thrust was its only cause, after the insurgents had been scattered

in a bloodless battle. The way in which the insurgents used their victory was as silly as the rest. Some members of the assembly met at Los Angeles and declared the senior among themselves acting Governor. Echeandia claimed the post for himself as the nearest representative of the Federal Government. He pronounced the assembly's session illegal, as well as the authority of Pio Pico, the young man it had set up. The assembly, after some discussion, reported its proceedings to the Mexican authorities and dissolved, leaving Pio Pico a name of office without further authority.

Another claimant for the vacant office put in an appearance. Captain Zamorano, one of the Mexican officers brought by Echeandia, had charge of the fort at Monterey, and finding himself the senior military functionary in the territory, declared himself legal ruler, in the absence of a Governor. To strengthen his claim he organized a company from the foreigners around Monterey and started with them and his own soldiers to expel Echeandia. The town council of Los Angeles recognized his claim, but the garrison at Santa Barbara declined to take any part. Echeandia began to recruit Indian auxiliaries as an offset to Zamorano's foreign volunteers, and the measure made all the older men nervous over the possible outcome of the schoolboy revolution. A truce was arranged between Zamorano and Echeandia by which one was to be military commander in the north of the province and the other in the south. A Governor in civilian matters was dispensed with entirely. The assembly, before separating, denounced Zamorano to the Mexican President and suggested he was trying to bring back the rule of Spain. The young legislators further declared the troubles of California "were mainly due to the detestable and unrepugnant mission system and the presence and intrigues of the friars, who were seeking to restore Spanish institutions." Both assertions were amusing copies of former language of Echeandia.

The possible consequences of the revolt to the whole community seem to have been gradually felt, and the President was appealed to by all parties. Bustamente's administration, however, had no available force to restore order in California effectively. Santa Ana had begun a military revolt in Mexico which called for all available troops to put down. The most the President could do was to send a Governor to replace the deposed Victoria. He did not even venture to pass judgment on the revolt or decide between the different parties concerned in it. A general pardon was given for all, and helped to complete the bouffé character of the revolt. The multiplied oaths of allegiance introduced by the Mexican Republic in California seem to have aided largely in lessening respect for government authority among its Spanish inhabitants.

General Figueroa, then stationed in Sonora, was named as Victoria's successor. He was not even a partisan of Bustamente's administration, and was sent as much to remove the risk of his joining Santa Ana's revolt as to restore peace in California. The circumstances were not favorable for restoring the lost respect for authority there. Figueroa was an old soldier of the Mexican Revolution and his views towards missions not unlike Echeandia's, with whom he had been long in correspondence. The President desired him to suspend the secularization measures, but to gradually introduce friars of Mexican birth to replace the Spanish Franciscans.

He brought ten of the former from the College of Zacatecas with him as a beginning. He had also a small detachment of troops.

Figueroa was well received by all in California. The population generally was weary of disorder. Zamorano posed as the defender of Mexican authority and Echeandia hoped to find an opportunity to carry out his plans of secularization through the authority of his friend. He sent him on his arrival a memorial of the policy he ad-

vised towards the missions and excuses for his own share in rebellion. The new Governor acted cautiously and showed a wish to conciliate all the rival parties. He published a general pardon and act of oblivion for the rebellion, but intimated to Colonel Echeandia that his immediate return to Mexico was desired by the President. Whatever his views on the missions, Figueroa was too old a politician to desire further experience of Echeandia's methods of action. The latter had to sail from California at once, and never returned.



## CHAPTER XX

### GOVERNOR FIGUEROA

The third Mexican Governor was a man of strong will and few scruples. Unlike the Colonel of Engineers, he was a ruler and soldier, and had mounted to his rank by hard service as a rough rider. He had little literary culture, but was practiced in political intrigue as well as military service, and his manners were formed to win popularity. In that he differed from the stern plainness of Victoria, who was a soldier but not a politician. Figueroa's first speech to the deputation at Monterey showed his feeling towards the missions. He spoke, like Echeandia, of their "military monastic system" and "the measures needed to raise the mission Indians from their degradation." He had before written to Echeandia from Sonora that he felt sure the latter "would protect the poor Indians against the tyranny of the friars." The zeal of the two military reformers was equally ardent for the interests of the converts, in words.

The members of the assembly were delighted with Figueroa's language, so in accord with that to which they had been accustomed by Echeandia and Padres. They drew up a report in still more fervid terms. The Spanish friars figured in it as the whole source of the late revolution, and all other troubles. "They had used the influence acquired through their wealth and the fanaticism of the people, to spread Spanish ideas, plot against the Federal System of Government, break the laws, corrupt officials and make themselves generally abhorred by intelligent citizens. Some of them had absconded to Spain with gold and silver of the missions. They beat their converts cruelly, forced them to work, treated them as slaves, and gave them no shadow of benefit from their

sixty years' tyranny over the missions." It must be admitted that the young Californian politicians had quickly learned the art of declamation during their first revolution.

Before leaving California, as ordered, Echeandia added the moral weight of his own character to the onslaught of the assemblymen in a written memorial. The strange popularity of the friars among all classes might, he feared, make Figueroa doubt the charges against them. The late Governor explained it simply. It was because "they asked no parochial fees for their religious services to the Spanish population, and entertained visitors free of charge at the missions. They also gave many gifts and loans, and consequently any official who championed Indian rights was a mark for popular disapproval."

The writer added that the head of the friars, Duran, was moreover "a Spaniard and a loyalist in opinions, and that he was only saved from expulsion by the last Governor, Victoria." Echeandia did not explain what had saved him from that fate during his own six years of office.

Figueroa, while receiving the sentiments of the deputation with approbation, did not hesitate to seek information on the missions from the friars so severely described. He consulted several of them in a friendly way, while privately advising the President to banish Sarria and Duran as Spaniards. He visited, himself, several missions, collected the Indians and explained to them in glowing language the benefits his government proposed to give them. He was somewhat surprised at the result of his appeals. The natives seemed quite unaware of their abasement or the tyranny of the friars, so sincerely deplored by the assembly and Echeandia. At San Diego and San Luis, Figueroa reported a hundred and sixty Indian families fully qualified by intelligence and character for full citizenship, but only ten among them were willing to leave their missions for the freedom offered

them. The others openly expressed their preference for friars rather than government agents as administrators.

The disposition of the Mexican Government towards the missions was undecided. The popular feeling was in their favor on religious grounds, and many politicians thought them also necessary as a means of keeping the Californian Indians in any form of civilized life. The desire to raise funds for the empty treasury was the strongest motive for meddling with the missions, whose wealth was exaggerated by wild reports. The national hostility to the Spaniards was a distinct motive, and many thought that if it were removed, the existing system could be continued without change, and taxes drawn from the missions profitably. It was with such ends in view that Congress had rejected Echeandia's plan of secularization and sent Victoria to replace him. Since that time, however, the administration of Bustamente had grown politically weaker, and some of its members desired to realize as much as possible from immediate possession of the mission property, regardless of consequences to its actual occupants. When Figueroa was sent to California, he received instructions from the Secretary, Monasterio, which show the somewhat undefined purposes of Bustamente's administration. "It being necessary to raise the new Christians from their present abasement, you will make allotments from the mission lands to such as are fit, and thus give them a taste for work and acquiring property. In that way the mission system may be replaced by one better suited to the needs of the territory. You may diminish the influence of the missionaries by degrees, until it is confined wholly to spiritual matters. The missions will then be secularized. In the meantime you must maintain the greatest harmony with the existing missionaries, and for that purpose, letters from the Vice-President of the Republic to some of the most prominent among them are inclosed for you to use." The diplomatic

methods of Monasterio were very like those of de Croix fifty years before.

Figueroa tried the effect of changing the administration from friars to government agents in Capistrano mission the year of his arrival. The result was bad. The natives disliked the change and neglected work, and the harvests fell enormously in quantity. Echeandia had tried to make pueblos of natives outside two missions already, but they had failed to draw population, and Figueroa's experience at San Diego and San Luis gave him no grounds to expect better results.

Father Duran, the Franciscan President, pointed out the practical reasons for the reluctance of the Indians to work under officials, or to reside in the mixed villages, which the Mexican reformers thought so needed to elevate their condition. There were already many natives living outside the missions. Father Duran referred to about three hundred then settled in Los Angeles, and asked Figueroa to compare their condition with that of their countrymen in the missions. None of the emancipated owned even a cottage or yoke of oxen, and they merely lived as day laborers, without wages, except some clothing. Any offences they might be guilty of were commonly punished by from fifty to a hundred lashes, given by the town constables, and not, as in the missions, with rods, but with leather thongs on the naked body lashed to a cannon. "The cruel and degrading punishments" which excited the sympathies of the advocates of secularization for the mission Indians had never exceeded twenty-five. The natives might well be excused for not appreciating the "freedom" offered them under such conditions.

Though the Governor had advised the deportation of Duran, as well as Sarria, to the Mexican authorities, he did not hesitate, a little afterwards, to ask his advice as to how changes could be made in the mission system to meet the wishes of the same authorities without ruin to the country. He had written before to the President that the

two friars "though their personal and religious character was worthy all praise, were practically opposed to the interests of the nation. They had used, without scruple, their position to spread their opinions, and they opposed division of lands, freedom of the press, and popular sovereignty, and wished to restore the Spanish Inquisition." If Figueroa believed what he wrote to his superiors, it is strange that he should have called one of the men so described to frame a plan of government administration for himself.

He had first asked the members of the Californian Junta for some practical plan of secularization. The united wisdom of the body was unequal to any suggestion, except the eloquent denunciation already given on his arrival. Figueroa then invited the President of the missions to suggest some solution of the task laid on himself. He embodied his estimate of the young legislators in a note to the Mexican authorities: "There was not a native Californian qualified to administer laws, and a little clique of conceited dunces was plotting secession of the territory from the Republic."

Father Duran, to Figueroa's surprise, when addressed, asked, in the name of his whole body of friars, to be relieved from the management of the mission properties. They were ready to stay and discharge their priestly duties, and none others, until such time as successors could be found of Mexican birth. The friars, Duran said, were mostly worn down, and for themselves would welcome dismissal. In the meantime, he was ready to help the Mexican Governor with advice on the best way to avoid the ruin of the natives after their departure.

He formulated three practical plans. The first, and, to his mind, the best, would be to found, as soon as possible, a line of new missions in the Tulare and Sacramento Valleys. They should be founded on the existing system and administered by the Franciscans, either already in California or to be brought from Mexico. The old mis-

sions should then be made Indian pueblos, and their inhabitants to elect alcaldes and superintendents among themselves. They might either stay, if they were satisfied with the new order, or might follow the missionaries to the new settlements if they preferred. The examples of San Rafael and Solano showed how such work could be done with satisfaction to all. The new missions, further, would be a protection to the old establishments in their pueblo form. They would ward off attacks from the wild tribes of the east, or from foreign adventurers, whose coming Father Duran, with his usual clear-sightedness, expected at no distant date. They would also keep the pueblo Indians from running away to the desert at every discontent among themselves.

This plan was approved by Figueroa, and also by Echeandia in theory. It involved, of course, an acknowledgment that the existing system of the Franciscans was the best fitted to civilize savages, but the California advocates of secularization had no difficulty in admitting that. The chief difficulty seen by Figueroa was the cost of the new foundations. The Pious Fund might, indeed, furnish them, if used according to the intentions of its founders, but its revenues at the time were needed for other than missionary purposes. If new missions could not be attempted, the next plan, in Duran's idea, would be to have California formed into a diocese, and its Bishop authorized to collect tithes from all Catholics, as in Mexico. He could thus found a seminary, and train priests to take the place of the friars as spiritual guides of the people. The missions should be, in this case, made pueblos without change in lands or their occupants. If religious influence was kept up in the pueblos and the natives protected against encroachments by white men, they would probably continue to work as under the existing system.

If neither of these plans met the sanction of the Mexican authorities, Father Duran earnestly urged on the Gov-

ernor the necessity of keeping the mission populations under a rule of common work like that already existing. The administrators and stewards should be elected by the Indians and held responsible before the law for any abuse of the trust placed in them. No taxes should be levied on them for church purposes, and the priests and churches should be supported as before, from the common harvests and stock. The old friars, though no longer administrators, ought for some years to have advisory control of the Indian stewards. He recommended the missions not to be changed at once, so that experience might show any changes needed in the details of administration. Those to be first tried should be such as had a long settled Christian population. He specified Capistrano, Purissima, San Carlos, Santa Cruz, San Antonio, Santa Barbara and San Buenaventura, as least likely to be injured by the experiment. The practical character of all Father Duran's suggestions is in strong contrast with the vague generalities of both Mexican and Californian advocates of mission "Secularization."

He went into further details, which show the study of Indian character by the old Franciscans. Improvidence and laziness were marked in the character of the Californians, and needed special rules to correct. They had been so far overcome by the influence of religion that the mission Indians actually worked more industriously and to better purpose than the average Californian of white race, but he doubted if they would continue to do so of their own accord. He asked pointedly why so much attention was given to raising the condition of Indians by habits of industry, while the white population did little but ride over the land as vaqueros. "It will be time enough to call the Indians to follow in founding schools and practising the higher arts of civilization when the higher race has shown them an example in itself." Figueroa seems to have appreciated this remark, in his communications to

the Government on the character of the general population of California.

The Mexican Franciscans were received with much goodwill by their Spanish brethren, and the missions were divided between the representatives of the two colleges. The Spanish friars of San Fernando retained the establishments up to San Antonio, and the Franciscans of Zacatecas College took the northern missions. Father Garcia Diego was Prefect of the latter, and Father Duran of the former. Both were consulted by Figueroa on the details of his policy.



COLLEGE OF ZACATECAS, MEXICO

He took some steps toward carrying out the plan before the close of the first year of his office. Capistrano was officially declared an Indian pueblo, and two smaller communities were formed with natives taken from San Diego and San Luis Rey. San Dieguito had fifteen families, and Las Flores over fifty, but prosperity did not follow the settlers on their removal from the missions. A few years later those of San Dieguito complained that their lands had been seized by their white neighbors, and those of Las Flores had lost half their cattle. They both disappeared as villages in a few years.



While Figueroa in California was laying out plans for removing the friars with least injury to the Indian population, Congress in Mexico suddenly passed a law for secularizing the missions on general principles. It was wide in scope, but vague in details. It ordered parishes founded in each mission, with parish priests at salaries of from two thousand to two thousand five hundred dollars each. These were to be paid by the central Government from the Pious Fund, which was also to pay the passages home of the friars then in California. The mode in which the Indian population was to be organized was not specified, nor how the required parish priests were to be found. Figueroa received a copy of the law without other information late in 1833. He submitted it to the provincial assembly the next year, and on deliberation decided to go on at once with his own scheme of secularization already sent to Mexico for approval. He did not wait for that, but published it as law, with only an endorsement from the local body, which he had already described as "a clique of conceited dunces, not one of whom was fit to administer laws."

It provided that the Governor should at once change ten missions into pueblos, leaving the friars in charge of religious affairs as before, but placing agents as administrators of the common property. Each head of an Indian family was to receive a lot not less than three-quarters of an acre, nor over twelve acres, in absolute ownership, with rights of pasture on the mission lands. Half the stock was also to be divided among them, according to the Governor's judgment, with seed and tools for the next year. The remaining half of the stock and the rest of the lands and buildings were to remain common property and be managed by agents named by the Governor. The agents were to use the produce to support the priests, the mission employees, schools and other public objects. The emancipated natives were to aid, as before, in the common

work, under control of the commissioner, instead of the missionary administrator.

A curious provision in the regulation was the suppression of the boarding schools in which the Indian girls were reared at the missions. The object for which they had been founded was to keep the children from the immoral influences of the old savage life, which were liable to be introduced to them by recruits from the rancherias. The secular authorities admitted the importance of the object, but thought it could be attained in a simpler way. The children were to be placed in charge of their parents, but the latter were to be "officially instructed in parental duties." The Mexican statesmen may have thought such duties not included in the doctrines of the Church which the friars taught.

Figueroa's method of raising the condition of the Indians was like Echeandia's, in distributing a part of the common stock to individuals. His land allotments were slightly larger, but the bulk of the property remained in the hands of the Governor's agents. The Indians themselves were allowed no voice, either in the choice or control of those functionaries. Ten missions were placed under agents in 1834, including all the greater ones. Santa Cruz was rechristened as the Pueblo de Figueroa. San Luis Rey, San Gabriel, San Fernando, Santa Barbara and San Rafael were handed over, as missions, to agents. San Juan Capistrano was called an Indian pueblo, but there was no special difference in its treatment from the others.

Figueroa, like Echeandia, began the work of seizing the mission property without any authority from the Mexican Government. The Act of Congress of 1833 had prescribed a totally different system, and his own plan was refused approbation. The secularization measures of Figueroa were only an act of usurped authority on his part and that of the Junta.

They were threatened with an unexpected interruption

in 1834, when nine missions had been turned over to the control of agents. Padres, who had been banished by Governor Victoria more than two years before, returned to California with a colony and extensive concessions from the Mexican President. He had organized a colonization company and got several wealthy partners into it when he was sent back to Mexico. Among them were Hjar, a man of wealth, and Gomez Farias, the Vice-President under Santa Anna. He became for awhile President, by temporary retirement of his chief, and in that capacity granted the company special trade privileges in California and control of all the mission properties. He further appointed Hjar political head of the Californian Government, leaving Figueroa only the military command. Padres still held the commission of Adjutant-General and second military authority in the territory. In case of Figueroa's death, he would succeed him.

The Pious Fund itself was another of the concessions given the favored company. The Act for secularizing the missions passed by Congress in 1833 had assigned its revenues to pay the costs needed by secularization. A later act gave the President authority to employ the Fund on other objects, including colonization, at his own discretion. The discretion of Farias placed its revenues in the hands of Hjar. He further issued orders making that gentleman almost absolute in the territory on his arrival there. They empowered him as Civil Governor and Director of Colonization to take immediate possession of all the missions, including lands, buildings, and property, and ordered the military commander to furnish him all needed aid of soldiers to seize the same. The Director was to select townsites for settlement and distribute lands and town lots to the colonists who accompanied him. They were to receive traveling expenses and rations for a year, and a distribution of mission cattle and tools. Half the remaining stock of the missions was then to be sold to the highest bidder, no one to buy over two hun-

dred head. The other half was to be kept on Government account, and its profits applied to supporting public worship and education and supplying improved tools to the colonists. The Indian inhabitants, by whose labor the property had been created, were not mentioned for any share in the division, but the Director was to mix natives with the new colonists and not allow any separate settlement of the Indians. They were in fact to be slaves to the settlers, under control of the military force. These instructions were issued in April, three months before the sailing of the colony from San Blas.

Hijar and Padres used their concession to gather two hundred and fifty colonists for California in the Mexican Capital. There were less than twenty farmers in this number, the remainder being mechanics or members of the educated proletariat. Mathematician, chemist, musician and carriage builder were among the occupations credited to the colonists, who were to divide the mission lands and develop them in the interests of progress and their own. The mission Indians were relied on to furnish the needed workmen, though no longer as owners of their lands.

The colony left Mexico in April and sailed from San Blas in the end of July. There was some disturbance in the Capital at their departure, and an escort of police had to accompany them outside the City. From San Blas, Padres, with half the colonists, and a new appointed Federal Judge and Treasury Agent, went on the national vessel Morelos, and Hijar with Bandini and the others on a brig, bought by the Company. It reached San Diego in September, and landed its passengers there. The Morelos got to Monterey, where Padres was warmly welcomed by his old Californian friends, who were not aware of his new projects.

Hijar traveled overland from San Diego, receiving free hospitality at the missions on the way. The Director of Colonization, by his own account, made friends of the neophytes everywhere by kind treatment and sympathy

for their sufferings under "mission tyranny." He got to Monterey about three weeks after Padres, and presented his commission to Figueroa, with a request to be put in immediate possession of the mission property. The Governor had a strong prejudice against separation of the civil and military administration, and his sympathies did not go out warmly toward the new project. He had, also, private instructions from the President, which enabled him to use his own judgment in dealing with it.

A few days before the colony sailed, Santa Anna had resumed his functions as President. He had suspicions of Farias, and one of his first acts was to cancel the commission of Hjar as Civil Governor of California. A messenger from the Capital carried the order to Figueroa, and delivered it a few days before the arrival of Padres. The latter expected to take command of the troops as Adjutant-General, on the supposition that Figueroa was in ill health. He found the Governor better than he expected, and his offer to assume command was politely declined. Padres then offered his commission as sub-director of the colony, which Figueroa admitted readily. He merely pointed out that sympathy was all he could furnish, as there was no legal authority to apply public funds to colonization. Hjar arrived a few days later and presented his commission as Civil Governor. Figueroa showed the President's order canceling that appointment. Hjar's commission as Director of Colonization was cheerfully recognized. The instructions of Farias for possession of the mission property were then submitted to Figueroa. He noted that they were made out to the bearer as Civil Governor, and pleaded scruples about accepting them in favor of a Director of Colonization. He had to consult the assembly on this difficulty. Hjar urged haste on the grounds of "the approach of seeding time, the disorders of the missions, the sufferings of the Indians and the neglect of the friars," all of which called for his immediate care as well as the colony.

Figueroa promptly acceded, and called a session on the second day after Hjar's arrival. Most of the members had been pupils of Padres in the science of government. They had recommended secularization a few months earlier, but they had no idea that it should be carried out for the benefit of strangers. The Mexican newcomers would furnish all commissioners needed for the missions, and that appeared an outrage to the Californian promoters of secularization. The Assembly declared that Hjar's grants "would rob the Indians of their property, their only reward for a century of slavery," as the members described it with more fervor than accuracy. A report was made unanimously and published the next day with the Governor's approval as a law. It declared Figueroa Governor in civil as well as military authority. Hjar was to carry out his colonial projects under his supervision, but to have nothing to do with secularization or mission property. The mission lands, the Assembly stated, belonged legally to the Indians, and no colonies could be allowed on them. Secularization of the missions and division of their property among the natives would go on as begun under the commissioners named by Figueroa. He might, however, supply the colonists with food for their support and tools from the mission stores. In the preamble, the members expressed deep sympathy for the innocent colonists who had to suffer through the neglect of the Director to provide for their welfare, and the carelessness of the Central Government in issuing vague orders.

It was certainly hard on Hjar and Padres, after their declarations of sympathy with the natives against the oppressions of the friars, to be held up as robbers of the Indians by a Governor and Assembly of their own political creed. They replied sharply, and were answered with equal sharpness by Figueroa. Hjar, if the Governor may be believed, tried to bribe the latter to put him in possession of the missions for a sum of twenty thousand dollars.

Figueroa did not accept it, and the members of the Assembly roundly scored the Director of Colonization for unbecoming language to themselves. After a couple of weeks of wrangling, it was agreed that Hijar's instructions should be returned to him and his salary paid, provided he would take the colonists to the north and settle them near Sonoma. Hijar agreed to do so under protest. Padres was next asked by the Governor whether he wished to act as Sub-Director of colonization or as Adjutant, and Padres promptly resigned the latter office. The mission of Solano had been secularized, and was in charge of Ensign Vallejo, as Commissary and military commandant of the north frontier. The colonists were desired to assemble there as soon as possible, and make a permanent settlement near it in the spring. Padres tried to get the military command, but was refused by Figueroa, who further wrote to the Minister of War charging him with plotting against the free institutions of the Government.

The colonists suffered a good deal during the winter at Solano. The Governor sent some supplies, taken, as usual, from the missions, but only enough for immediate support. Hijar in the spring planned to lay out a town in the Santa Rosa district, and applied to the Governor for funds. Figueroa confessed he had none available, but would do all in his power. Meanwhile he had written to the Minister at Mexico, that as soon as the colony was located, the salary of the Director might be dispensed with, as his services would be no longer needed. In reply to further demands from Hijar, the Governor advised that, in view of the unfitness of the colonists for frontier life, they had better scatter through the country and each find work as best he could. There was a touch of irony in this advice to the director, as Padres had been very loud in denouncing the wrong on the Indians of keeping them within the mission bounds.

Some of the colonists who had remained in the south attempted a revolt. A party entered Los Angeles in arms

and presented a pronunciamiento against Figueroa to the town council there. That body declined to endorse it, and two of the leaders were arrested as authors of the seditious document. One was a messenger carrying dispatches from Hajar to Mexico. The Governor decided that strong measures were needed, and the Director and Sub-Director of Colonization were suspended from office and ordered to leave the country. Two months later Hajar and Padres with some of their friends were shipped as prisoners to San Blas with a report of the Governor explaining his action. Thus ended the connection of Padres with California.

The story of the Hajar colony, as told by the officials connected with it on both sides, furnishes an explanation of the motives for suppression of the missions in California. They had been the main object of its occupation by Spain, and their success in improving the moral and social conditions of the natives was recognized by visitors of nearly every nation down to the end of Spanish rule. La Perouse, Vancouver, Langsdorff, Botta, and Beechey, though none of them favorable to Catholic ideals, all testified to the devotion of the friars and the prosperity of their converts. No like condition was attained elsewhere by a race of the same kind. At the close of Spanish rule the Indian converts were seven-eighths of the whole population, and there seems no intelligent reason why their condition should be violently changed by a Government like the Mexican, which itself declared the Catholic religion its own. It satisfied the natives, and certainly did not injure the white population outside the missions. Moreover the labor of the natives was the chief element of prosperity of the whole community.

The motives which developed the attack on the missions are best seen in the colony of Padres. The dislike of the Mexicans to the Spanish nationality of the friars was not of itself strong enough to cause secularization. It certainly prevented the coming of successors of the same



kind to the men whose zeal and energy had built up the missions; but no serious thought was entertained of disturbing the missions until the idea of commercial profits from the work was developed. That was chiefly due to Echeandia and Padres, aided by the demoralization in public morality caused by the long revolutions of Mexico. Figueroa only carried on the work of his predecessor. It is some satisfaction to know that none of the chief actors reaped any profit from the ruin of the missions.

Figueroa died three months after the exile of Padres. His death came in September, of an apoplectic stroke, and was at Monterey. He was popular among the Spanish Californians, and his funeral celebrated with high honors. By his own request, his body was laid in the vault at Santa Barbara till the National Government should provide for its removal to Mexico. No provision was ever made by that body to fulfil his wish.

## CHAPTER XXI

### SECULARIZATION BEGUN

The attempt of Padres and his colony to get possession of the missions, by concession from the President, hurried Figueroa in his projects of seizing them for his own benefit. He knew, by the experience of Governor Victoria, that he had no support to expect for his own authority from the Central Government, and he concluded to strengthen his popularity by at once dividing the missions, as agencies, among the class of native Californians most likely to be turbulent. He had previously recorded his judgment that there was not one among them fit to administer any legal functions, but he concluded he might as well let them share the plunder as leave it to new spoilers.

Figueroa, if left to himself, would in all likelihood have gone slowly with the work of secularization. He began with only the Capistrano Mission in 1833, and gave a year to see the result. It was not satisfactory, but the coming of the Padres colony made him throw further considerations aside and install agents of his own nomination in nearly every establishment. Sixteen missions were secularized by the end of 1835. The sudden stroke which ended Figueroa's life prevented him from reaping any personal profit from the transaction. It made him highly popular for the time with the young assemblymen and their friends. The Junta gave a public funeral and voted a marble monument to his memory in Monterey. It drew up the epitaph in Latin and Spanish, and recorded it in its minutes. The state of the public funds after secularization, however, did not permit the erection of a tombstone to Figueroa's memory in California.

The new agents got possession in every case without resistance from either the Franciscan administrators or the Indians. The former all obeyed the instructions of their President, Duran, and turned over all the property in their charge to Figueroa's nominees. The only condition they demanded was that the latter should take inventories of all they found, which were signed both by them and the former administrators. Copies were sent to the Governor and the Head of the Franciscans, and most of them have been preserved. With all their indifference to personal profit, the Spanish priests had a keen regard for the good name of their Order in the matter of honesty. It was not much felt by the lay administrators who succeeded them, and the accounts subsequently furnished are few in number and vague in character. Such as they are, however, they give sufficient information to trace the effects of secularization on the prosperity of the missions and their inhabitants.

San Jose, Santa Clara, San Miguel, Santa Inez and San Buenaventura remained under the old management at the death of Figueroa. In the others the Government Agents were installed as masters, and the priests continued to discharge their spiritual duties towards both Indians and whites. The inventories made at each seizure showed a large value in cattle, stores and improvements, but little money. Their wealth was wholly the product of native labor and thrift, and was in the form suited for use of the producers. When seized violently by outsiders it melted away with little benefit even to the plunderers, but with destruction to those who had till then shared its benefits.

San Luis Rey, the greatest and most prosperous of all the missions, was among the first confiscated. It included the branch establishment at Pala and another at San Bernardino, as well as the central mission. Its development had been due to the intelligent energy of a single friar, Fray Antonio Peyri, who had charge of it since its foundation

by Father Lasuen and Governor Arrillaga. It counted over three thousand population, nearly as much as the whole number of Spanish Californians at the time. The estimated value of its improvements was given at two hundred and three thousand dollars.

Santa Cruz was credited with eighty-four thousand dollars in improvements, besides its cattle, San Francisco with sixty-seven thousand, and Capistrano with only fifty-four thousand. It had been accounted much wealthier than the northern establishments, but had been a year under a secularized regime before its reckoning was made. San Juan Bautista showed a valuation of a hundred and forty-seven thousand, of which only two hundred were in coin.

Both Echeandia and Figueroa in proposing to change the existing system had dwelt strongly on the need of making the Indians owners of individual property as a step towards the "higher civilization," to which they proposed to raise them. Division of the property held in common was on the program of the measure passed by Figueroa and the Californian Assembly of seven in defiance of the Mexican Congress. There was some difference in the amount which the reforming Governors thought would be good for emancipated mission converts to own. Echeandia was confident that it should be not less than three cows, three horses and three sheep to each native family, besides some tools and seed corn. Figueroa considered that two of each would be better calculated to develop thrift among the newly emancipated, and that the balance should be reserved for "public uses." The agents named by him followed their own discretion largely. The administrator of Santa Cruz, where the population was smallest, declared in a report, at the end of his first year's office, that he had already discharged all his obligations to them under the law. He had, he claimed, distributed a value of ten thousand and five hundred dollars among them, in food and tools, from the eighty-four

thousand valuation received by himself from the friars, exclusive of cattle. The other nine-tenths might, he felt, be conscientiously employed on public uses.

At San Juan the agent was still more economical. The value received by him had been nearly a hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and he had assigned eight thousand and five hundred to the Indian tenants as their share. He was satisfied that the division was quite just on the new principles of political economy, and would administer the remainder for public uses, including the support of public worship and the friars themselves. The last named duty was put forward by him and most other administrators as an important one, and calling for the retention by the local Government of the property of the Indians. It would relieve the Mexican Government from the necessity of keeping the Pious Fund intact, and spare it the labor of issuing further promises to pay the salaries of the missionaries from its revenue.

Most of the missions were administered on like notions as to the sharing of the common property of the mission Indians. It would be too long here to go into the separate details of each establishment. Solano, however, deserves mention for some special circumstances. It was the latest founded of all the missions, and had barely completed the ten years of existence allowed to every new mission by even the most radical secularization measures yet brought forward by Mexican reformers. It had been founded at special request of the first Mexican Governor as a protection to the northern frontier of the province, and had fulfilled that purpose efficiently. Indian settlers had been sent there from San Francisco and San Rafael in large numbers, with their own consent, and they had been increased by numerous converts from the warlike tribes of what are now Marin and Sonoma Counties. Six hundred and fifty had been baptized in the ten years, and the Christian population had reached nearly a thousand, and was growing in numbers and resources under the Francis-

can administration. The mission counted five thousand cattle, seven thousand sheep, and a thousand horses on its ranges, and was a nucleus of civilization for the northern tribes as far as the Russian settlement. None of these considerations was enough to save it from secularization by Figueroa and his assembly partisans.

A probable reason for its inclusion may be found in the assignment of Solano to Hjar's colony by Figueroa as a place of settlement. It was the remotest site he could name, and his anxiety to get rid of the new claimants for all the missions, doubtless suggested his choice. Whatever the reason, secularization was quickly followed at Solano by the disappearance of the whole Christian population. The agent named was one of the assemblymen who had so warmly denounced the oppression of the mission Indians by the friars to Figueroa. He was son of a former corporal, and had commanded the massacre of Indians near Lake Tulare, which had called investigation from Echeandia. On his own appointment as administrator at Solano, he wrote with enthusiasm of his high conception of his task to Governor Figueroa: "Thank God, the real owners of the missions are getting their rights. From the bottom of my heart I rejoice at the deliverance of these poor people from the clutches of the missionaries." The young reformer, in later communications, told what he had done for the latter noble end. He gathered the residents of the mission and told them they were free to return to their old homes in the mountains, if they would only remember the mission was their parish church. They were free to go where they pleased and make a living any way they could, but the benevolent agent urged them to not forget they were citizens and Christians wherever they might go. His report made no mention of the property formed at the mission by the labor of the emancipated converts. A subsequent one, in answer to inquiry on this head, claimed generally that he had divided the cattle among them at the time of emanci-

pation. The coming of the Hija colonists to Solano and their discontent with their lot called out further comments on the agent's administration. He had received a grant of land in the Petaluma Valley, as well as the agency of the mission from Figueroa, and it was stated, probably by some of the immigrants, that the bulk of the mission cattle had been transferred to the reformer's ranch. He furnished his explanation. He had, he stated, divided the stock among the "poor people" when he bade them depart from the mission, but he found that the result was bad for their welfare. It only involved them in wars with the outside tribes, who began to claim shares with the mission Indians in the cattle. To remove the cause of quarrel, the philanthropic administrator took over the cattle himself. The mission Indians, he said, begged him to do so, and he "made treaties with the savages." The cattle he got were a gift from the lawful owners after their own "deliverance from the clutches of the missionaries." He had not secured the full number of the mission stock, but owned two thousand cattle, six thousand sheep and six hundred horses as his share. He further claimed that he was applying it really to public uses, in the spirit of the secularization measure. He fed some Indians from his new wealth, and he contributed, as a citizen of means, to the support of the friar who continued public worship for the common good. Indirectly, also, he thought himself a benefactor of the province by building up a small community of enlightened citizens on his own ranch, and in the deserted mission. The disappearance of the native village was merely an incident of the new reforms.

The instances given sufficiently indicate the methods of dealing with the mission Indians by the lay administrators through California. There were differences between the characters of the men themselves, but the general practice of confiscation was similar everywhere. The cattle and the stores of grain, hides and tallow in

the granaries were the chief prize of the new agents. The cultivation of the fields, vineyards and orchards, the various industries of weaving, tanning and ropemaking were allowed to perish without any return. The Indians could not be expected to work at them when they saw the profits of their labor taken without return by the officials. Many of them withdrew and settled in little bodies in remote places, where they kept up some cultivation and raised a few cattle. The majority became hopeless, and either drifted away among the savages or became servants of the ranchers for bare food.

The value of the declamation against the tyranny of the Spanish friars, which had been the alleged motive for the secularization measures of Echeandia and Figueroa may be judged from the after reminiscences of one who had been himself loud in its use. General Vallejo, the Solano administrator, made an address at the Centennial Celebration of San Francisco in 1876. He had been present at a former anniversary celebration at the same place in 1830, the last celebrated at the old mission before the secularization act of Echeandia. Four Spanish friars had then gathered: Amoros from San Rafael, Fortuny from Solano, and Viader from Santa Clara, with Father Estenega, the last administrator of San Francisco. The Californian General thus sketched their characters forty-six years afterwards:

“Father Fortuny was a saintly man who seemed always at prayer. In or out of his mission he was always with breviary or rosary in hand. He was deeply learned but very affable with all people, was very humble and besides a great converter of Indians.

“Father Tomas Estenega was a young man of medium height, the very personification of activity. He was of a very cheerful temper and his conversation refined and varied. He was an excellent and very sincere priest. He was in Spain during the French invasion when Napoleon



tried to seize that country and had seen much of the war of the Revolution there.

“Father Juan Amoros was holiness itself. Were I an orator I would try to depict the brilliant gifts which adorned that venerable missionary, but as I have no such talent, I will merely say that Fray Amoros was a model of virtue, charity, humility and Christian meekness. A man without a blemish, true-hearted and most exemplary in life. He was the admiration of his contemporaries and a wonder to the native tribes.

“I knew him as a child nearly seventy years ago, when he was chaplain to the garrison at Monterey. When he came on Sundays to say mass for the soldiers in the post chapel he always brought sweet figs, dates and raisins in the sleeves of his habit, which he distributed after mass among the Sunday school boys, but only after he had given them half an hour's teaching in the Christian doctrines. To describe his bodily appearance I could not draw a more perfect likeness than by calling your attention to one here present whose stature, manners, face, smile and loveable disposition all recall to my memory the image of that saintly man. No photographer could give us a more perfect picture of Father Juan Amoros than we have before us in the person of our Archbishop Joseph Sadoc Alemany, and I must say that not in physical characters alone do I find a great resemblance between the two men. I speak with such feeling of Father Amoros because I know myself his virtues, his purity of heart and sincerity of devotion. Moreover, to him I made my first confession, from his hands I received the eucharist for the first time. Two years after the celebration I speak of, he died at San Rafael, in 1832, and was buried in the mission church there. Father Viader was a tall man of polished manners, somewhat severe in face, but frank and open in conversation. He was as austere in his own religious practices as he was energetic in managing the temporal business of Santa Clara. The rosary he always

carried on the cord of his Order had a crucifix attached of a size that drew attention."

Those vivid pen-pictures of an eye-witness give a sufficient idea of the value to be given to the demand made, a year later than the day recalled, by the young members of the California Junta of whom Vallejo was one. It asked with earnestness, "Why should the friars be let profane our institutions and spread among the young and ignorant their sentiments in favor of Ferdinand the Seventh?"

In fairness to the Californian agents who so quickly ruined the mission work of sixty years' patient self-sacrifice, it must be remembered that almost without exception they belonged to the class threatened with sympathies for the Spanish King. They were both young and ignorant, to a remarkable extent, of political knowledge. The regulation excluding soldiers from the local Junta cut off nearly all the men of mature years or experience. The youthful members took their lessons in political wisdom from the phrases current in Mexican lodges, retailed to them by Echeandia and Padres. "Military monastic system," "priestly domination," "slavery of the converts," "Spanish sympathies," "opposition to freedom of the press," and "desires to bring back the Spanish Inquisition," were among those commonly employed by the advocates of secularization as arguments against the continuance of the friars as mission administrators. Those who used them, like either Figueroa or Vallejo, found no difficulty in recognizing the friars themselves as men of "wholly praiseworthy lives," or even in confidently asking the advice of individuals among them on methods of government, as Figueroa did Father Duran. The Mexican Governors and their Californian pupils did not care whether their declamation against the friars was justified by facts or not. The only thing to be regarded was whether it would be popular with the men in power in Mexico. They were quite ready to acknowledge that all the civilization of the Californian Indians was

due to the Spanish friars, but they felt that their removal from the charge of them would eliminate political difficulties. It would enable the Governor to retain his office, without help from the Mexican Government, and would provide offices for the young reformers of the assembly. The latter need was more keenly felt in California than in most countries of the same population. Under the Spanish regime the bulk of the men had been soldiers and the brighter boys were trained to look forward to careers as military officers by diligent study and attention. The long cessation of pay for soldiers under Sola, Arguello and Echeandia had taken away all attraction from army life. The sons of the old soldiers, if of ambitious turn, looked for new fields and only found them in politics. They became assembly members instead of ensigns, and mission administrators instead of militia captains. Their action in the last capacity, however ruinous to the natives and the whole community of their own race, was more dictated by ignorance and boyish self-conceit than ill will or deliberate purpose to steal.

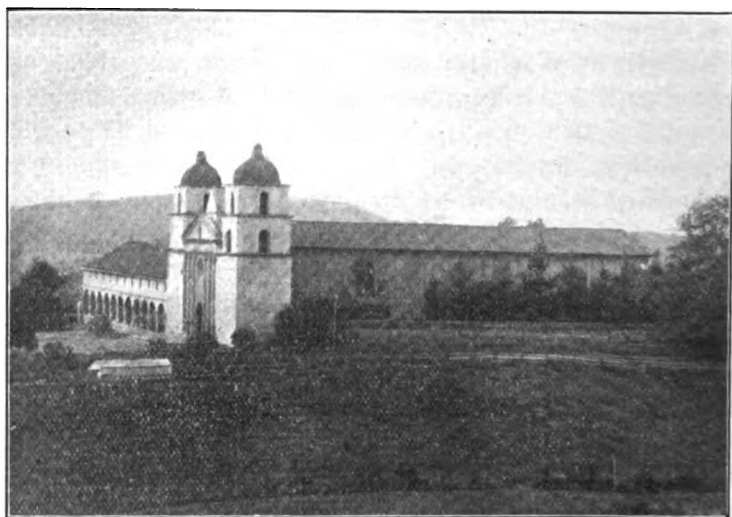
They had immunity as complete, when carrying out secularisation in defiance of the Mexican Congress, as if they had the full support of its Government in the work. Victoria's expulsion showed how powerless the Mexican administration or Congress was in California. The young politicians there might do as seemed fit to themselves, as far as the central authority of the Republic was concerned. In California the great majority of the Spanish Californians had been trained to confine their action in public life to the regulation of their pueblos and presidios. The Governors had regulated the general affairs of the province under the Spanish regime, and for several years after the adoption of republican forms. The small number that had been trained to politics by Echeandia and Padres alone took interest in the assembly elections. The missions had been protected by Spanish laws and continued to be by Mexican law, but neither their inhabi-

tants nor their clerical administrators could offer any armed resistance to confiscation, when decreed by the Governor and assembly.

The unwarlike character of the Indians of the Californian missions, even before conversion, was noticed by all visitors from Portola to Beechey. Whatever inclination they might have to resist the seizure of the missions they had been further overawed by the violent measures used by Governor Arguello on the disturbances at Santa Inez and Santa Barbara. It need hardly be doubted that secularisation would never have been attempted by Echeandia or Figueroa had the converts there been of a character like the Yaquis or the Flatheads or Nez Perces. Both Governors tried to enlist the natives in support of their policy, and failed in the attempt, before they adopted methods of secularisation by force. Castro and Alvarado were sent as commissioners by Echeandia in 1832 to San Luis Obispo and San Miguel. They gathered the mission Indians at the latter place, told them the benefits of emancipation, and then desired those who wished the existing system changed to go to the right and the others to the left. The great majority according to Alvarado at once went to the left and were quickly followed by all the others. The result was the same at San Luis and also at San Antonio. Arguello, two years later, by Figueroa's orders, took a vote among the Indians of San Diego and San Luis Rey on his proposed secularisation. At the first two heads of families were in favor of change and fifty-seven desired the continuance of the friar's administration. At San Luis a hundred and eight were of a like mind and only four showed a different opinion, so far as to decline to express any. No further consultation of native opinion was made on the subject of the "emancipation" decreed for them by Figueroa and the seven members of the Junta Provincial.

It may be noted that many of the Spanish Californians, like de la Guerra and Carrillo, the representative of the

territory in Congress, in Figueroa's time, strongly opposed the confiscation of the missions. The latter was largely instrumental in defeating a proposition made in Congress in 1832 to sell the estates of the Pious Fund. The sending of the Zacatecas Franciscans to California with Figueroa was a clear declaration of the desire of the Mexican authorities in 1833 to continue the missions under the existing system. The College of San Fernando agreed to the substitution of Mexican friars for the



SANTA BARBARA MISSION

Spanish members of its own body then in California. Indeed the College itself had nearly perished through the proscriptive policy of the early Mexican administrations which forbade the landing of Spaniards for any purpose in the former viceroyalty. Even in 1828 Father Arrequin, the Guardian of San Fernando, wrote to Sarria asking his judgment on the question of dissolving the College. There were only three priests and a few brothers left in it, and two of the three invalids. Three priests, however, came to California at nearly the same time:

Father Moreno and two brothers Jimeno. They were the last Spanish friars to join in the work begun by Junipero Serra. It should be said that the College, itself, had not been destroyed by any of the Mexican administrations further than the prevention of new members from Spain. Its Guardian even received some payments from the Pious Fund on account of the Californian missions in Figueroa's time, and had received three years' arrears of the salaries due there in 1824.

The Mexican Franciscans who came with Figueroa were allowed the cost of their journey from the Pious Fund. They were intended to take charge of the northern missions under the same conditions as the San Fernando friars, but Figueroa's secularisation gave them a very brief experience of mission management. The Superior, Fray Garcia Diego, was afterwards the first Bishop of California. His companions were Fathers Gonzalez, Rubio, Gutierrez, Mercado, Rafael Moreno, Perez, Sanchez, two brothers Real, and the Indian Quijas.

Two other priests came to join in the work of the Franciscans while secularisation was beginning. An American visitor, Robinson, tells of their coming in 1832. In January of that year a brig from Honolulu landed two European passengers on the beach at San Pedro, then quite deserted, with no provisions beyond a biscuit and two water bottles. They passed the night as best they could on the beach. The next day an Indian from San Gabriel happened to visit the place in search of shells and found the two Europeans whom he brought to the mission. They proved to be Catholic priests, one of French, the other of Irish birth. They had gone to the Hawaiian Islands five years before as missionaries to the natives, and were expelled by Kinau the Regent as idolators, on the advice of the Rev. Mr. Bingham of the American Congregational Mission there, who had become political, as well as religious adviser of the Hawaiian ruler. Father Bachelot remained five years as assistant at San Gabriel.

His companion, Father Patrick Short, served at La Purissima in a like capacity and was also asked later to join in founding a college at Monterey. Both were secular priests, but an order for their expulsion, as Jesuits and suspects, was sent from Mexico to Figueroa. The Governor did not act on it, and after five years in California the two missionaries found means of returning to their converts in Hawaii, on a French brig. In Honolulu they were at once arrested, as teachers of the Catholic religion. A decree, drawn up for the purpose by the American missionary advisers of the chiefs, laid down as a justification for the expulsion that it was not right "to allow two religions in so small a kingdom." Father Bachelot was conveyed to the lonely island of Ascension where he died, and Father Short was carried to Valparaiso. Father Bachelot, it may be said, was the pioneer Catholic missionary of the Pacific islands.

The Spanish friars had been decreasing fast in numbers before the first attempts at secularisation. Only three new helpers came after the union of California with Mexico and death thinned the ranks of the old missionaries. When the Mexican flag was raised at Monterey there were thirty-four Franciscans in California, only four of whom had come within the preceding ten years. Five had been in charge of missions since the close of the eighteenth century. These were Father Peyri of San Luis Rey, Viader of Santa Clara, Abella, Uria, and Barona. At the close of Figueroa's life there were only sixteen priests remaining. The old rule requiring two priests at each mission had been long suspended through necessity. Of the original thirty-four, one, Father Martinez, had been deported by Echeandia, and four left California of their own accord with permission of their Superior. Fathers Ripoll and Altimira left in 1827, at the close of the ten years for which they had volunteered. Father Ripoll's motive was the horror he felt at the slaughter of the Christian Indians at Purissima by Arguello's or-

der. Altimira had been the founder of Solano and had marked his conduct there by enthusiasm for the new Mexican institutions which was disappointed by later events. Father Peyri left in 1832 after the first attempts at secularization of Echeandia, and Viader in 1835, after Figueroa's measures had been largely carried out. Both were old men and each had passed between thirty and forty years in mission work with great success. The three Superiors, Payeras, Senan and Tapis, died in 1825, and four others during Echeandia's government. Four more passed away before the death of Figueroa.

The numbers of the native population seemed to dwindle with that of its teachers. It was nearly twenty-two thousand when Arguello left office, had fallen to eighteen thousand before Echeandia was displaced, and to fifteen thousand at the death of Figueroa. The reforms of the Governors brought strange results to the natives.

The friars continued to win converts among the savages whenever they could reach them through all this time. Six hundred and fifty were made in ten years at the latest establishment Solano, and Father Amoros baptized over twelve hundred at San Rafael in a like period. Father Duran at San Jose enrolled two thousand between 1820 and 1830, many of them drawn from the interior valleys of the San Joaquin and Sacramento. Not less than twenty thousand baptisms were given in California between 1820 and the year of secularisation. The population grew most rapidly in the northern missions, San Jose, San Rafael and Solano. The natives there seemed stronger, physically, than those of the Santa Barbara coast and the death rate among them was less. It was also much less at San Luis Rey under the able and intelligent management of Peyri.

Some details of mission management given by General Vallejo illustrate the nature of the "slavery" which the advocates of secularisation regarded as implied by the system. The Buriburi Indians did not



like to change their abode after conversion, and those of San Pedro had the same feelings. They did not like San Francisco missions on account of the difference between its climate and that ten miles south, and also for its lack of trees, to which they were attached. The priests of San Francisco consented to their staying on their old lands if they promised to work there, at tilling the ground, and would build chapels for public worship. One of the friars visited this place each Saturday, leaving his colleague to attend the central mission and presidio. It indicates much consideration for what modern politicians would consider purely sentimental feelings of the natives, that this additional labor was assumed without difficulty by the Spanish friars. Vallejo says that another branch establishment of like character was kept at what is now San Pablo. The missionaries went there from time to time to instruct the Indians and give direction to their farm work. The missions of San Rafael and Solano were planned on a similar method, but in each of them a priest was permanently stationed.

Further illustrations of the mission methods during the period before secularisation are given by two foreign visitors, neither of them in sympathy with either the religion or nationality of the Spanish friars. The English Captain Beechey visited California in 1827 and the American, Alfred Robinson, in 1829. He was a native of Boston, where the public sentiment towards Catholic orders was illustrated that year by the burning of St. Benedict's Convent by a Charleston mob, and the refusal of the selectmen to compensate for the outrage. Both came on commercial business and published accounts of their experiences for the Protestant public of England and America.

Beechey was informed that the priests were in the practice "of evading government demands for a share in the mission produce by making donations among the Indians, whom, it is said, they think better entitled to it than

the government is." He added that "in some missions the converts were so attached to the padres that he had heard them declare they would go with them if they were obliged to leave the country." The captain's own sentiments in matters of religion were expressed by his remark: "Nothing could exceed the kindness and consideration of these excellent men to their guests and travelers, but they were very bigoted and invariably introduced the subject of religion."

Alfred Robinson gives descriptions of several of the Spanish friars in 1829 which, like Beechey's, are valuable as coming from an outside observer. Father Peyri "was held in universal respect on the Coast, not only as founder of the mission over which he presided, but also as a man of great mental energy and capacity, high in favor with the government (Echeandia's) for these qualities, and dearly loved by the people for the extreme benevolence of his disposition."

"The director of San Gabriel was Father Jose Sanchez who for many years had controlled the establishment which, through his management, had advanced to its present flourishing condition. Possessing a kind, generous and lively disposition, he had acquired in consequence a number of friends, while through his liberality the needy wanderer of whatever nation or creed found a home in the mission." Father Viader of Santa Clara was "a good old man, whose heart and soul were in proportion to his immense figure." Father Ordaz at Santa Inez received the visitor "with the accustomed cordiality of his hospitable order," and Father Jimeno did the same at Santa Barbara. Father Duran of San Jose was "a venerable old man who had spent the most of his life in incessant labor for the advancement of his holy religion. Generous, kind and benevolent, the natives not only revered him as their spiritual father and friend, but seemed almost to adore him. He was universally beloved and the neighboring village bore testimony to his charitable heart,

while many a passing traveler blessed him and thanked God that such a man existed among them."

"Father Juan Cabot of San Luis Obispo was a tall, robust man of over fifty, with the rough frankness of a hardy sailor, differing widely from the soft and pleasing manners of his brother, but celebrated for his good humor and hospitality."

Mr. Robinson's judgment of the friars named need not be regarded as indiscriminate praise of his hosts. He criticised the condition of La Purissima Mission, under Fathers Victoria and Juan Moreno, as "much neglected and the Indians generally ill-clothed." San Juan Capistrano was "in a dilapidated state and the Indians much neglected." The cause, however, was hardly the fault of its priests, Father Zalvidea and Boscana, who were both aged men. The first was secluded and apparently weak in mind, but in "other days he had taken an active and laborious part in the management of the mission." Father Boscana's manuscript work on the religion, government and customs of the Californian Indians appeared to Mr. Robinson worthy of translation into English, and was published seventeen years later in his book on California. It was given him by the syndic of the missions in 1831, after Boscana's death.

The harshest judgment of Robinson, and indeed, the only unfavorable one on any of the friars whom he met, was passed on Father Ibarra of San Fernando. "He was a short, thick, ugly looking old man whose looks did not belie his character. In his own opinion no one knew as much as himself, nothing was as good as what he had. The niggardly administration of this place compared with the liberality of the other missions we had visited was a complete contrast, and the meanness and unpopularity of our host had gained him the nick-name of cochino, hog. Father Juan Cabot was also nick-named as well as his brother. The first was the sailor, 'el marinero,' the latter the gentleman, 'el caballero.' The Spanish Californians were ready

critics of the qualities of friars as well as laymen. That they were not slow in expressing their sentiments may be gathered from the term applied to Father Ibarra. After all, though closeness, self-conceit and boastfulness may have seemed specially repulsive to Robinson, as a native of Boston, they were hardly grievous moral faults in an old man. Father Ibarra hoarded the mission tallow and hides perhaps unwisely, but he made no attempt to appropriate them, and he delivered twenty thousand dollars worth, with five thousand in money, to Figueroa's commissioner four years later.

A few more friars met by Robinson may be added to fill out the picture of the later missionaries. At San Buenaventura he found Father Uria "closely wrapped up in his studies in his own room," and at the dinner table which was abundantly spread, he was amused at the eccentricity with which the old padre teased four cats, his constant attendants, and occasionally rapped the heads of the Indian boys in attendance. Father Arroyo at San Juan Bautista was confined to his room by ill health and like Uria, gave much of his time to study. To amuse himself he was wont to call in the Indian children and set them to dancing and playing their games. He gave them the names of renowned men of the old world in jest. Father Pedro Cabot at the neat little mission of San Antonio, Robinson found, "a fine, noble looking man whose manner and deportment would lead one to suppose he had been bred in the courts of Europe rather than in the cloister. Everything was in perfect order, the Indians cleanly and well dressed, the apartments tidy, the workshops, granary and storehouses comfortable and in good keeping."

At Soledad he found Father Sarria, the Superior of all the missions, who continued to make it his home after his elevation to the office of Prefect. Soledad, to Robinson's eyes, was "the gloomiest, bleakest and most abject looking spot in all California." Its interior, however, was in

striking contrast to its gloomy outside. "A pious old man controls its concerns and pours out their abundance to his guests with free hospitality. His charities, his goodness and meekness of character are proverbial, and to have known the old Padre Sarria was a happiness, indeed."

Mr. Robinson's remarks help to account for the "popularity of the Spanish friars with all classes," which Governor Echeandia so feelingly complained of to Figueroa, as a serious obstacle to his enlightened plans for raising the condition of the natives. He thought it even worse than their Spanish nationality and royalist ideas.

The Zacatecas friars have not been as fully described as those of San Fernando. They have been described in less flattering terms by later visitors, but it is not easy to say with how much justice. The last or nearly the last survivor, Father Rubio, was certainly the equal of any in character and devotion to his work. Some of the others are chiefly known by charges against them made by witnesses of very slight claim to credit. The Zacatecas friars, however, had little to do with the missions of California except to witness their ruin.

The absence of ill feeling towards the missions in Mexico is illustrated by the "decree of secularization of 1833." That measure did not deprive the natives of their lands. It only aimed at making the missions into parishes administered by secular priests. Salaries of from two thousand to twenty-five hundred dollars were to be paid to the new parish priests and all expenses to be borne by the Pious Fund. Congress passed no decree of confiscation. That was the action of the military governor and the members of the provincial assembly, who shared among themselves and friends the property of the missions.

It is odd that, even they showed no dislike or even distrust of the friars whom they abused in general public language. They even sought their help to make easier the execution of their own crude attempts at organization.

Echeandia's first project, while removing the Spanish priests from the temporal management, proposed to largely increase their salaries. After Victoria's expulsion, he asked several to accept the office of parish priests and promised large compensation if they would. Some of the answers given were characteristic. Father Sanchez, answered briefly that they were missionaries, not parish priests. As missionaries and nothing else, they would remain until the authorities of the Church should order otherwise. They would stay as long as they received enough food to support life, and if that was refused they felt free to shake the dust from their feet and go elsewhere. He added that advice on their obligations to give support to the laws of the country would come with better grace from another than Echeandia, who had just risen in revolt against the legal Republican Governor.

Father Duran's answer was similar. He had drawn up for the Mexican authorities a long report on secularization and the revolt against Victoria, which Bancroft pronounces, the "ablest document written by any friar in California." In it he compared, on reliable data, the social and industrial condition of the mission Indians with that of the white population of California. He asked why the latter did not, themselves, found the schools and colleges, the arts and sciences, the absence of which they deplored among the converts as a sign of moral abasement. He freely declared his belief that the object of secularization was not reform, but plunder for a handful of politicians, without experience or honesty. Echeandia attempted no reply to Duran's arguments. He only advised his friend Figueroa to send the President out of the country without further trial, as a pronounced royalist.

## CHAPTER XXII

### ALVARADO GOVERNOR THROUGH REVOLUTION

Figueroa's sudden death caused a change of administration in California which, though only temporary, had some effect in lessening the respect which still hung around the office of Governor there. He had been both military and civil ruler. The powers were divided on his death. His adjutant-general, Colonel Gutierrez, became commander of the troops, but the assembly met and elected Castro, one of themselves, and a young man of twenty-five, as Political Chief of the country, until a new appointment should be made by the President. Castro had no qualifications for the duties of his office, and he resigned them to Gutierrez after a few weeks. His election, however, awakened new aspirations to office among the young Californian politicians which soon bore fruit of turmoil.

Gutierrez held office as acting Governor about five months, during which the new mission agents were left wholly to their own discretion. He was a Spaniard by birth, and had no military force to support his authority if he tried to make it felt. The garrison in California had been over six hundred at the close of Sola's administration. It had shrunk to thirty soldiers at Monterey, as many in Santa Barbara, eleven in San Diego and three at San Francisco, when Figueroa died. Lack of pay on the part of Mexico was the sole cause. A disbanded army is usually a turbulent and restless element in any population, and such was really the condition of most of the Spanish Californians. It may help to explain the avidity with which some of them plundered the defenceless Indian missions.

Colonel Chico, a member of the Mexican Congress, was

named by President Santa Anna to succeed Figueroa as Governor of California. He had the same civil and military powers as his predecessor, but he had to tell of a new change in the Constitution of Mexico. It became a Central instead of a Federal Republic through the influence of Santa Anna. The States became Departments and California got the same name. Its local assembly was to be a Junta instead of a Diputacion. The changes, as far as the territory was concerned, were only of official names, but they helped to lessen the little stability of political opinion that still remained after the sudden changes of the previous fourteen years.

The Governor, himself, contributed to the same end by his inaugural address. He had been one of the framers of the New Constitution, and he thought to commend it by denunciation of that which it had replaced. Federal Republicanism he attacked as fiercely as Echeandia had the old Spanish Monarchy. He described it in his address as "A birth of disorder which Californians had endured for eleven years. It was their idol, while worthy, but its oracles having proved deceitful they, in common with their fellow citizens, had decided to melt the false idol, though respecting its relics, till they should be replaced by the new image which was being formed to serve as a deity." In the meantime he called on the Californian assembly to swear allegiance to the New Constitution. They all took the oath without hesitation. They had none of the scruples of the friars about unnecessary oaths, though if any faith were given to the Governor's description of the first Mexican Constitution, the refusal of its endorsement by Sarria and Duran was more than justified.

Chico had not the personal qualities of Figueroa and made a bad impression on the people. He was immoral also in his private life and his conduct was a good deal criticised on that account, though Figueroa had been no more scrupulous. He made a tour of inspection through



the south and showed a singular pettiness of temper at Santa Inez. He visited the mission unexpectedly and was indignant because its bells were not rung on his arrival. The administrator explained that the omission was unintentional and caused by the suddenness of the visit. Chico refused to be pacified, and ordered the secularization of San Buenaventura and Santa Inez missions as a punishment for the supposed slight. At Santa Barbara he ordered Father Duran to hold a solemn religious service in honor of the New Constitution. The Prefect declined, as he had before declined to pledge allegiance to the old one. Chico on his return to Monterey ordered his banishment, but the agents he sent to Santa Barbara to arrest him were chased away by the people there. The nefarious popularity of the friars, which so impeded Echeandia, continued after secularization to impede the action of liberal Governors.

Chico had been ordered by Congress to suspend secularization but he gave no heed to the instructions. The suppression of the two missions was a stretch of his own authority. His career was too short in California for much action of any kind, and he left it hurriedly of his own accord. A petty dispute of authority with the alcalde of Monterey was sufficient cause to scare away the Governor. He named Gutierrez to replace him until a new appointment of Governor could be made by the Mexican President. The local administration went on without change.

New projects of change were, however, growing among the score or two of young men who formed the politician element among the native Californians. One of them, Juan Bautista Alvarado, was sub-inspector of customs at Monterey, and in that capacity had a dispute with Governor Gutierrez over the customs guards. He was threatened with arrest and left the town to avoid it. He took the idea of deposing the Governor to avenge the slight. It is said he was due for the notion to the suggestion of a

foreign resident, Nathan Spear, in whose store he had been clerk for some time. Alvarado and Vallejo had both been pupils of an English teacher, Hartnell, in Monterey, and regarded themselves as intellectually superior to the rest of their countrymen. Mr. Spear probably thought his clerk, when Governor, could help his business by lowering the Mexican duties at Californian ports. A considerable number of foreigners had settled in the Californian ports since their opening to trade by the last Spanish Governor. The English among them looked with derision on the new republican institutions, and thought a revolution a good joke among the Spanish Californians.

Alvarado accepted his friend's suggestion and concluded that the late change of form in the Mexican Government warranted an insurrection, as much as Victoria's severe execution of the laws. He imparted his views to some young friends, including a few who had lately sworn allegiance to the new order. Castro, the quondam acting Governor, was one of the party that planned the serio-comic rising.

About four months after Chico's departure, Alvarado started quietly from Monterey with a dozen of friends, and recruited fifty or sixty more by a trip through the northern districts and appeal, to the young rancheros to rise in arms against the new despotism, which had made California a department instead of a territory. Horseback riding was the general employment of all Spanish Californians, and the army of liberation gathered to Alvarado's call as to a picnic. Arms, indeed, were scarce, but a few old army muskets were found and the others got lances. Lieutenant Vallejo, the mission administrator at Sonoma, had a company of actual soldiers regularly enlisted and drilled there. He was the only young Californian who had entered the military service of Mexico as a profession and he kept his soldiers at the expense of the lately suppressed mission funds. Alvarado, who was his nephew, called on Vallejo and urged him to rise

against the tyranny of Mexico, discovered by himself. Vallejo, in spite of his action towards the missions, had scruples about breaking his late oath of allegiance to the abhorred New Constitution, and remained neutral. Castro was then named commander of the army of liberation. He was not a soldier, but his father had been a sergeant, so the young revolutionists considered he must have some military knowledge.

As a matter of course Alvarado and his friends, while on their preliminary expedition to awaken the public to the horrors of Central Government, levied on the missions for supplies. Men and horses had to be fed and the mission agents cheerfully supplied them from the storehouses. At San Rafael, the newly arrived Mexican priest mistook the liberators for fugitives from justice, and benevolently suggested to Alvarado to take sanctuary in the church with promise to shield him from the law's rigors if he would. The revolutionary leader scouted the idea. He next called on an old Kentuckian hunter of doubtful character, who had a still and barroom near the San Juan Mission. This worthy's place was a favorite resort of trappers and deserters from the foreign ships, and Alvarado urged him to raise a company of riflemen for the cause of freedom in consideration of liberal wages, when he should have control of the customs and missions. Isaac Graham accepted and gathered about fifty foreigners. With these and as many native Californians, Alvarado rode to Monterey, seized the empty fort and discharged a cannon shot at the barrack, where the Governor resided.

Gutierrez had seemingly not known before of any rebellion or even grievance among the Californian population. He showed little interest in maintaining his authority as he had only about fifty soldiers at his command. After negotiating for a couple of days, he agreed to return to Mexico with his officers and a ship was hired for that purpose by Alvarado. When this had been arranged,

Castro convened three other members of the assembly to form a government for California.

Its first task was to issue an address to the people, congratulating it on the insurrection. It was fully equal to Chico's denunciation of Federalism.

"Heaven favors you. You are doubtless its chosen people and therefore it is leading you with benign hand to happiness. Federation or death is the destiny of Californians. California is free and will cut her present connection with Mexico until she, too, is free from the dominant tyranny named a central government. Let us be united, Californians, and we shall be invincible. Thus we make it clear to the universe that we are 'free and federalists.' "

The next step was to make a constitution for the country so highly favored. The four assemblymen decided themselves fully competent for the task without the trouble of taking any popular vote. It resolved: "The present Honorable Deputation declares itself invested with constituent powers," and framed a constitution for California within four days. Some foreign residents suggested that California should secede entirely from the Mexican Republic, but the insurgents were not ready to go so far. They declared it, however, a free and sovereign State in that Republic, and required the Mexican people to restore the Federal institutions there, if they desired the union of California's five thousand citizens with themselves. Meantime the Assembly of Four would rule the state. It named a commanding General for the Californian army and offered the post to Lieutenant Vallejo. His scruples were overcome after Gutierrez left, and he came to Monterey and swore one more oath of allegiance. The comparison between the title of general and the fifty or sixty men in the national army caused some sarcasms among the old soldiers in Monterey. To meet them, the assembly decreed Vallejo a Colonel in the regular Federal army as well as a General. The lack of a

regiment had to be tolerated for the present. The legislators also ordered the formation of a militia, and made Alvarado a Colonel and Castro Lieutenant-Colonel of it as a beginning. It further elected the first, Governor of California in civil affairs.

The assembly showed its financial skill by reducing duties on foreign goods to half the former amount. It was, of course, to reward the foreign merchants for their good will towards the revolution but it left the new "free and sovereign state" without resources. The deficit had been considerable, even under the former tariff. It was unfathomable under the new arrangement. The mission property alone had now to bear the public burdens. It further districted California into two cantons, each with a political chief. Vallejo or some other of the Californian boy statesmen had evidently read something of the ways of the French Revolution in republican language. The new Governor signed his decrees as "Citizen Juan B. Alvarado, Colonel of the Civic Militia, Political Chief of the First District and Governor of the free and sovereign State of California Alta."

The action of the self-elected Congress was disapproved by the town councils outside Monterey as soon as learned. Santa Barbara, Los Angeles and San Diego condemned it as criminal and outrageous, and proclaimed their adhesion to the Mexican Government, Central or Federal as its constitution might be. The Council of Los Angeles issued a call for election of members to the assembly and advised the other Councils to choose a temporary Governor as an answer to the proclamation of the Monterey Four. All authority was in confusion throughout California as a first result of the childish insurrection.

The various phases of the new government during the next two years were bewildering though luckily bloodless. Alvarado started south with a hundred men to make his authority as revolutionary Governor recognized. At Santa

Barbara the town council accepted it as the lesser evil, by advice of Captain de la Guerra and Father Duran. The latter urged Alvarado earnestly to suspend the confiscation of the missions and not to cut the connection between California and Mexico as he talked of doing. Alvarado took his advice on this point, but declared himself too far pledged to secularization to stop in the first.

From Santa Barbara he went with his so-called soldiers to Los Angeles where the alcalde and council refused to have anything to do with the revolution. They raised an



MISSION SAN LUIS REY

armed force, including some hunters from New Mexico, and camped at San Fernando Mission, from which the commander took a sum of two thousand dollars for safe keeping. Alvarado subsequently captured it in the Los Angeles treasury, and used it partly to pay off Graham's mercenaries at the rate of two dollars a day. After much bickering it was agreed that an assembly should be elected under the existing laws of Mexico. Alvarado issued the call, and the body met at Santa Barbara, but San Diego repudiated his claims emphatically. Zamorano, the senior

Mexican officer, was declared to be the legal acting Governor if Mexican laws were to decide the point. Los Angeles came over to the same view and California had two Governors armed against one another.

A commissioner from the Mexican President came in the middle of 1837 to try and restore peace in California. He brought a copy of the Centralist Mexican Constitution, over which Alvarado's rebellion had nominally begun, but which seemingly had not been yet seen in California. The Councils of San Diego and Los Angeles at once swore allegiance to it. So did Alvarado and Castro after brief delay. The commissioner agreed that Alvarado might act as Governor till further instructions.

The arrangement proved awkward for Vallejo, whose new rank depended only on the action of the revolutionary assembly at Monterey, which all now agreed had no authority whatever. He found the best way out of the difficulty by following the example of the friars in refusing needless oaths. He declared himself satisfied with the arrangements made, but he would not swear allegiance to the New Constitution. "Such oaths had become a by-word through the country." Vallejo's conclusion was almost exactly the same as Father Duran's.

Alvarado had swallowed the oath of allegiance in hope of being legally appointed, but was disappointed. President Bustamente on receiving news of the acceptance of the New Constitution in California named Carillo, the Californian Congressman, as Governor. He had little tact and complicated matters on his arrival by changing the capital from Monterey to Los Angeles. The northern districts objected and Alvarado profitted by the pretext to refuse to acknowledge his rival. The two claimants kept up forces of a hundred men or so on each side and for nearly two years waged bloodless war. Alvarado once captured his rival and his brother by a raid during the Christmas holidays. He sent the latter as a prisoner to be kept by Vallejo at Solano. The prisoner won Vallejo to his own

side of the dispute and the ex-Military Commandant of the revolution advised Alvarado to follow his own example and resign. The tangle seemed to grow worse with every turn of events. The decision was left to the Mexican administration by all parties. The administration revoked Carillo's commission and requested the Californian assembly to send the names of three candidates suitable to them from which the President would make a choice. His choice fell on Alvarado, who remained legal Governor till 1842, and thus had practical control of the secularization of the missions.

The bloodless character of the contest between the rival Governors did not lessen the destruction already begun in the missions. The Indians had no defense against seizure of their property by both factions. The agents furnished supplies to requisitions as long as cattle or stores held out, and the natives did not care to renew them by the work to which they had been trained by the friars, but of which the fruits would no longer be theirs. Most of them drifted away from their homes while Alvarado and Carillo were squabbling over the merits of Central or Federal government. When peace was restored, Alvarado appointed an Englishman, Hartnell, Superintendent of the secularized missions. He found their property had almost disappeared and that less than nine thousand natives remained on the lands where they had numbered over twenty thousand ten years before. The population of California as a Spanish settlement had been over twenty-five thousand when the Mexican flag was raised. It had shrunk to fifteen thousand after six years of secularization, and the anarchy caused by Alvarado's playing with theoretical revolution.

The population of white race had grown to about six thousand in California at this date of secularization. There were about three hundred of other than Spanish race, who had drifted in either by sea or across the moun-



tains. Many were adventurers, hunters, trappers or sailor deserters. Several business men, however, had settled in the towns and carried on business there which made them wealthy. Alvarado had drawn help for his insurrection from both classes. He hired deserters and trappers to fight for liberty at two dollars a day, and he got the foreign merchants to use their influence against the legal Governor when attacked in Monterey.

When the young insurgent found himself a constitutional Governor he experienced the result of his reckless ambition. The rough riders he had hired from the mission spoils treated him with contempt, and laughed at the Californian law and lawmakers. The character of many of them was described by Figueroa as "mostly horse thieves or vagrants." Graham, the barkeeper, who had recruited the mercenaries for Alvarado is described by Bancroft. "He had been noted in New Mexico as a bummer, blowhard, and notorious liar, without an atom of honesty in his composition." Twenty citizens united to describe him as a "peace-breaker, corrupter of morals, a revolutionary, a duellist, assassin and adulterer." He and his associates made life intolerable in Monterey and other districts during Alvarado's administration.

The Governor determined to get rid of them by a *coup d'état*, in 1840. Graham, he was informed by one of his associates, was getting up a party to seize Alvarado, himself, and take control of the government. The Governor consulted the assembly, called out the militia, and unexpectedly arrested about a hundred suspected of treasonable purposes. After an investigation, Graham and about forty-six were sent prisoners to San Blas, to be tried there by the Mexican tribunals. Most of them were not citizens, and, under Mexican law, had only the privilege of residence at discretion of the administration. The alien laws of John Adams, in the United States, had given the President authority to expel any suspected foreign residents at will, and, whatever their justice, their val-

idity was not questioned on international grounds by any power. In the case of Graham and his associates, their action in hiring themselves three years before to overthrow the legal authorities of a Mexican department, fully warranted expulsion. The action of the actual Governor on that occasion, however, now helped to secure immunity for his accomplices.

Alvarado received a sharp lesson in practical politics when Graham and about twenty of the other suspects were sent back by the Mexican administration with money indemnities. The English and American ministers took up the cause of the suspected anarchists, as countrymen of their own, and the Mexican authorities felt too weak to resist their pressure. The return of the exiles ended whatever little moral authority yet lingered around the office of Governor in California after the turmoil of the first years of mission secularization.

Mr. Bancroft notes the change in feeling among foreigners towards the whole Spanish Californian population which followed the seizure of the missions. Several had settled in the country under the Spanish rule and more during the early Mexican, while the missions continued. Nearly all these immigrants, even of a different religion, readily assimilated with the Spanish population, married among them, and adopted their language and manners. The Mexican Congress, in 1828, passed a liberal naturalization act by which all foreigners, if capable of work, and Catholics, were given citizenship and land grants after two years' residence, and several Americans and others took its benefits, as Daniel Boone did in Spanish Louisiana long before. The majority of the arrivals after secularization kept themselves apart from the native Californians and treated them with contempt as an inferior race. The moral authority by which a handful of Spanish friars ruled more than twenty thousand Indians so successfully and disinterestedly commanded the respect of men like Vancouver and Beechey and inspired

kindly feelings for the race to which the teachers belonged. When they had been removed, and their work undone, the childish attempts of the young Spanish politicians only excited ridicule and a desire to seize the territory they occupied, but seemed incapable of governing. The ruin of the missions worked eventually as disastrously for the Spanish Californians as for the Indians themselves. The friars were the only party who suffered no material loss by the change. They could not be impoverished for they had nothing to confiscate of their own, as Governor Taft recently remarked of the Franciscans in the Philippines, in his report of 1901, to the Secretary of War of the United States.

An attempt of Alvarado to take up the task of the dispossessed friars in civilizing Indians is a curious illustration of the political intelligence of Young California. Some months after his legal election, the Governor received a visit at Monterey from a stranger of good address and plausible manners. He had come as supercargo on an English tramp brig from Honolulu by way of Sitka, and was introduced to Alvarado by a Scotch resident of Monterey. The stranger presented letters of introduction to the Governor and Military Commandant of California from the owners of brigs, foreigners quite unknown to either. He had also flattering letters of a personal kind from Russian officers in Sitka, the British Governor of the Hudson Bay Territory and the American Consul in Honolulu. The latter was more flowery than grammatical. It described the bearer as "A Swiss gentleman, of the first-class among men of honor, talent, and estimation, worthy of all confidence and support." The gentleman so described further stated that he had been a captain in the Swiss guard of the deposed King of France, and had left Europe in consequence of the Revolution that drove out Charles the Tenth.

Introductions from foreign officials would have suggested distrust to most men in the office of Governor of

California. Arrillaga had shown it to Vancouver, with reason, many years before, and at the time now come, there was actually a Russian settlement in California, and apprehensions of its invasion from both English and Americans. Alvarado showed complete confidence in the stranger's intentions, and promptly gave him permission to select any unoccupied land he might desire, not only for himself, but any followers he might bring. The stranger had some already of a kind that seemed rather dangerous to a weak administration. He had three or four white adventurers from Honolulu, eight or ten Kanakas, hired to him as contract labor by the Hawaiian king, and an Indian slave bought from an American trapper in Oregon. His financial resources were limited, but he had some pieces of artillery and a four-oared boat, and also considerable knowledge of the internal geography of California. He desired to settle the whole party in the Sacramento Valley, as pioneers of civilization, and even with a view to the conversion of the savages there to the Catholic faith.

Mr., or Captain, Sutter expressed his wish for an immediate grant of territory from the Governor. The latter, being now constitutionally appointed, had to explain that the law of Mexico did not permit such grants to foreigners, but suggested he would give it if the stranger would take out naturalization papers. He agreed and in due time they were issued to him as "A Swiss Catholic of good character." The accuracy of the description may be judged from the fact that the party so described was the son of a Lutheran clergyman born in Germany.

The particulars collected by Bancroft about Mr. Sutter make the credulity of the Spanish Californian Governor more remarkable. His only military character was a period in the Swiss militia. He had failed in business as a bookbinder in a country town in his native land, Baden, and landed in New York as an immigrant in 1834. He had since traded and traveled in Missouri, New Mexico

and other parts of the West before reaching California from the British post at the mouth of the Columbia. Some trappers there had recommended him the Sacramento Valley as a valuable hunting ground where he would be independent of any control by the Californian authorities. The Governor not only gave him permission to settle there, but placed it all at his disposal, on his declaration of intention to become a citizen of Mexico.

Sutter at once took possession by building a fort, which he named New Helvetia and armed with artillery. Some of the Californian rancheros with extraordinary liberality supplied the stranger with cattle to be paid for at his convenience. He drew some trappers to New Helvetia besides his original associates, and pressed the savages to work, under the double pressure of rifles and the authority he claimed as deputy of the Californian authorities. Horses were plenty in the valley, as it had been a favorite practice to carry them off from the Spanish ranchers. Sutter recovered as many as he needed by raids on the tribes, in which native blood was shed freely. He boasted of having killed thirty in a single fight on the Cosumnes River in the second year of his settlement, and he executed ten a little afterwards as an official punishment for a fight between mission Indians and savages in his own service. Sutter introduced the practice of capturing children from the distant tribes as slaves, and even sent some as gifts to friends in other parts of California. The natives near the fort were obliged to work by use of the lash and with no wages except food and rare gifts of glass beads. There was not much cultivation of the land, but Sutter set up a distillery and made brandy from the wild grapes gathered by the Indians. Trapping for furs was the chief other occupation of the civilized settlers of New Helvetia.

When the two years of residence needed for naturalization were ended, Sutter received it and also a formal grant of eleven square leagues of land as his personal domain.

While yet an alien, Alvarado had given him a full commission to manage the affairs of the Sacramento Valley at his own discretion. He was "to represent the Government, to have authority to administer justice, prevent depredations of foreign adventurers, repress hostilities of Indians, and stop illegal hunting or trapping, by force of arms if needed." In his application for the further grant of land the new citizen enlarged on the value of his services as an agent of civilization, with a passing reproof of the old mission methods.

"Stimulated by the example of my followers, ideas of industry are awakening in the other inhabitants of the country. The fort, from its situation, also serves as a barrier against incursions of the savages and a school of civilization both to the barbarous natives and to those of the missions, who, in their long time under subjection, have never been useful members of society, as the undersigned now has the satisfaction to know they will become through his own indefatigable exertions." The German's gift of florid eloquence seems equal to that of any Californian Spaniard and nearly as free from accuracy.

Alvarado took Sutter's description of himself as confidently as he and his fellow assemblymen had received Echeandia's program of secularization. He made the desired grant at once to repay the benevolent, if unknown, stranger for "his patriotic zeal in favor of our institutions, by reducing to civilization a large number of savage Indians of those frontiers." The berry picking and trapping of New Helvetia seem to have been regarded by Alvarado's intelligence as higher pursuits of civilization than the farming and manufacturing of San Luis Rey or San Jose Missions, so recently laid waste under his rule.

While not excusing the spoliation of the missions by the reckless greed of the young Californian politicians, the circumstances of the foundation of New Helvetia show their peculiarly childlike attachment to, and confidence in

strangers. That quality helps to explain the readiness with which they took up the secularization projects of the first Mexican Governors, framed in language like Sutter's. Mr. Sutter's loyalty to the government which had granted his princely concession was not too strong. A curious letter of his to Mr. Leese, written a little over a year after Alvarado had made it, is thus quoted by Bancroft: "Very curious reports come to me from below but the poor wretches do not know what they do. The first French frigate that comes here will do me justice. The first step they do against me I will make a declaration of independence and proclaim California for a republic independent of Mexico. I am strong now enough to hold me till couriers go to the Wallamet to raise sixty or seventy good men and another party I would dispatch to the mountains to call the hunters and Shawnees and Delawares with whom I am well acquainted." Apart from its grammar, which may be excused, these statements sound oddly from a gentleman who had just sought reward for his services in keeping savages from raids on his adopted country. The agent of the new methods of civilizing Indians was not likely to trouble the rulers of Mexico with scruples about oaths of allegiance, but he seems hardly to have been as safe a citizen for the Government of California as the Spanish friars.

## CHAPTER XXIII

### THE RESULTS OF SECULARIZATION

The work of secularization was completed in 1837, while California was without an organized government and Alvarado trying to make himself its Governor, by the aid of Graham's riflemen. Chico had removed the friars from administration of Santa Inez and San Miguel the year before during his few months of office. He named Carlos Carillo lay administrator in San Buenaventura at the same time, but he declined to act. The next year, when Alvarado was trying to force his authority on southern California, Carillo took charge of the mission there. It had been the last founded by Junipero Serra "*quo serius co solemnus*" in his own words. It was also the last to pass from control of the Spanish friars of San Fernando.

San Jose and Santa Clara had been handed over to the Mexican Franciscans during Figueroa's life but they were not spared much longer than San Buenaventura. They were secularized by Alvarado, as nominee of four members of the assembly for Governor of California. No reason was given, beyond the will of the pretender to office, and the fact that he was pledged to secularization. The Mexican friar administrators were both men of the highest character. Father Garcia Diego, the President under the Zacatecas College, replaced Viader at Santa Clara, and Gonzalez Rubio followed Duran at San Jose. The first was later named Bishop at the request of the Mexican President, the second was familiarly known as "*El Santo sur Tierra*," the saint on earth. He later administered the diocese of California until the coming of Bishop Alemany.

Mission San Jose had been the most prosperous of all the Franciscan establishments after San Luis Rey. It had been



built up mainly by the zeal and ability of Fray Narcisco Duran, who administered it during twenty-seven years. It counted two thousand population in 1831, a much larger number than the Spanish town of San Jose. Though it suffered from an epidemic heavily in 1832, and some of its people had scattered during the revolt against Governor Victoria, it had over fifteen hundred Indians when Rubio took charge of it the next year. Santa Clara had about eleven hundred. It, too, had been formed mainly by a single man, Father Viader. He had presided over it nearly thirty-five years, and on the transfer to the Zacatecas friars he asked leave to retire from California, which was granted, with only sufficient to pay the expenses of his voyage home. The year of confusion in California, 1837, saw the secularization of the three last missions.

The cattle of the San Jose Indians numbered fifteen thousand and the sheep, thirteen thousand when Father Duran gave an account of his administration. The average yearly harvests gave eleven thousand bushels of grain and the Indians were all well clothed and lodged. The stock continued to increase while Father Rubio managed the mission and when he gave it up to Salvator Vallejo, a brother of the Military Commandant, in 1837, the value of the property, apart from buildings, was set down at a hundred and fifty-five thousand dollars. Three years afterwards the lay administrator reported only a small decrease in cattle of the mission, but its population had shrunk from fifteen to six hundred. Some of them seem to have been sent, as bondmen, to Sutter's new plantation at New Helvetia, as the latter incidentally mentions his execution of ten Indians as an outcome of quarrels between the savages and Indians from Mission San Jose.

In Santa Clara, a change of administrators in 1840 showed a worse result of secularization. The population had shrunk to two hundred and eighty, and the stock, too, had nearly disappeared. The first administrator had received nearly the same number as at San Jose but in three

years, only four thousand cattle and five thousand sheep remained for his successor. The granaries held hardly the twentieth of what had been a year's crop under Father Viader. They had just five hundred bushels of grain after three years' official management of the fertile mission lands.

The results of secularization in California are easy to trace on unquestioned data. When Alvarado was confirmed in office as Mexican Governor, he was seriously alarmed at the general decline of population and cultivation that had followed his policy. Other native Californians were equally alarmed and called for immediate reform of the mission reformers. Vallejo, the Military Commandant, himself a mission agent, declared publicly that most of the state administrators were simply thieves, and insisted that they be called to account for their stewardship. Carillo, who had been named Governor by the Mexican Government during the rebellion, was equally emphatic. He declared that to provide for the candidates for office as agents would need a chain of missions to plunder, reaching from California to Cape Horn. Alvarado published a "regulation" in 1839 forbidding agents to sell or waste the public property in their charge. He further named an official Visitor to inspect the missions and report on abuses in their new management. He fixed the salary of the office at two thousand dollars, five times that given by Spain to any Franciscan administrator. It was, of course, to be paid from any remaining property of the mission Indians. He gave the post to Mr. Hartnell, his former English schoolmaster, who had neither race nor religious sympathies with either friars or Indians.

His duties were strictly official. He was to visit the missions, examine their condition, instruct the agents in their duties, and improved methods of bookkeeping, take inventories of all property existing and "enjoin economy and kind treatment of the Christian natives." Hartnell

traveled through all the establishments that year and rendered a report to Alvarado in October. Some items from it indicate the ruin that had fallen on others than San Jose and Santa Clara. In San Rafael Mr. Hartnell, in 1839, reported less than two hundred natives, in San Francisco ninety, at Solano a hundred, at Santa Cruz seventy. The thirty-seven hundred cattle at the last place had fallen to only thirty-six within five years. At Soledad the Indians were as few as at Santa Cruz and forty-five cattle, eight hundred sheep and twenty-five horses were all that remained of property, which five years before had been valued at forty thousand dollars. The whole mission population in five years of secularization had shrunk to less than six thousand, not a third of what it had been ten years before. The cattle and sheep which formed the chief wealth of the natives had been reduced in like proportion. A hundred and fifty thousand cattle and nearly the same number of sheep were owned by the missions before secularization. Scarcely fifty thousand of either could be found by the Visitor six years afterwards.

San Juan Capistrano was the first mission chosen to try the experiment of raising its population in civilization, by naming it a pueblo and "emancipating" its Indians. The latter were considered by Figueroa the most intelligent of their race in California and they numbered about nine hundred, a larger population than Los Angeles or San Jose. They owned two thousand cattle and six thousand sheep. Six years later eighty persons with five hundred cattle were all that remained of the emancipated mission. San Gabriel, when Father Bachelot, the exiled French missionary from Hawaii, was landed on its territory from Honolulu "for preaching the religion of the Pope," counted thirteen hundred Indians living in comfort beyond that of most European peasantry. They owned over forty thousand cattle and sheep, had well tilled fields and vineyards, and in aggregate wealth much surpassed the neighboring Spanish town of Los Angeles,

San Gabriel was secularized two years later and five years afterwards the official Visitor found only eleven hundred cattle and a thousand sheep as the remnant of its possessions. Its population had dwindled to three hundred and seventy.

The oldest Spanish settlements fared still worse. The French Admiral Thouars who called at Monterey in 1837, while Alvarado's revolution was beginning, found only two or three Indian families at Carmel. Their cattle had disappeared and they lived only on shell fish and acorns.

At San Diego, two years later, Hartnell found the first mission of Serra almost deserted. There were only fifty natives to be seen of the fourteen hundred that lived there before Figueroa began their emancipation. Grain fields vineyards and olive groves had gone back to their primitive state, and the workshops stood empty and silent. The natives around San Diego had always been less inclined to steady work than those of other localities. Many gentiles remained unconverted in the mountains for that reason, though keeping friendly to the Christians and their teachers. Captain Portilla, a Mexican officer, who had opposed Alvarado's revolt, took charge of the mission during the period of confusion and most of the Indians promptly quitted it. Many joined the gentile rancherias and came in bands to carry off the cattle and horses which they considered lawfully their own. The ranchos of several Spanish Californians were also attacked and their owners slain or carried away prisoners. The military garrison once kept at San Diego had been let perish, and the rancheros and Indians fought one another without discipline or mercy. In 1838 a conspiracy, between the Indian servants of the Spanish town and a gentile tribe, to capture San Diego was discovered and ten of the first promptly shot. Two years before a brother of the mission agent proposed to the town Council of San Diego to keep up an armed force against raiders, on condition of permission to make slaves of his native prisoners. Sutter

did so without scruple, in the Sacramento Valley. The conspiracy at San Diego was discovered, according to Mr. Davis, by torturing an Indian prisoner. "One of his ears was cut off and he was given to know that the other would follow and he would be mutilated little by little until he made the statement required." Indian slavery and torture of Indian prisoners were among the first results of the secularization policy to elevate the condition of the native race.



MISSION SAN DIEGO

Mr. Hartnell reported, further, that the fifty natives who still remained on the mission lands "were nearly naked, and clamorous for the return of the friars." They preferred the methods of Serra and Bucareli to the enlightened ideas of the Mexican politicians.

At Solano the converts had been dismissed to their old life by Vallejo in the interests of themselves, and their cattle remained on the agents' rancho in those of civilization. Vallejo used them to keep up a military company and he had also formed a small village of Spanish Californians under the name of Sonoma. He showed much

independence of the Governor's orders and even put the official visitor under arrest at San Rafael for interference with the Indians. His treatment of the savages, however, showed more human sympathy than Sutter's or Portilla's at San Diego. He kept friendly relations with them generally and gave them some food, and he helped some of the mission Indians to try farming on their own account. He also formed a company of Indian soldiers regularly drilled, and he protested strongly against the new system of slavery which followed secularization. It is curious to find the Military Commandant, who had so eagerly in-dorsed Figueroa's suppression of the missions, now seriously asking the Mexican friars to form new ones in the northern districts, and requiring the emancipated Christians to attend church regularly. Vallejo's own attempt at civilizing Indians by military rule was as unfortunate for the subjects as De Croix had been for soldiers on the Colorado. The company revolted in 1840, and the Commandant nearly exterminated them.

At San Luis Rey, the greatest of the missions, Hartnell found some cultivation still carried on by the native Christians. Their numbers had diminished from three thousand to less than one under six years of the new regime. Portilla, the Mexican officer whose desertion caused the downfall of Governor Victoria's government, had been rewarded for his treason by the agency of Father Peyri's foundation. His brother had proposed the establishment of Indian slavery at San Diego a little before, and Portilla did not inspire confidence in the San Luis Indians. He was after a time succeeded by Pio Pico, one of the young members of the assembly prominent in supporting Echeandia's emancipation policy and revolt. The fate of San Luis Rey is a strange comment on the different results of honest zeal for the welfare of weaker races and theoretical plans for it on supposed scientific principles. Peyri began his work of instruction in 1798 with a handful of Christian Indians to help his foundation. It grew

steadily till the numbers of its people were larger than the whole Spanish population in California and superior to them in industry and manufacturing, to a still greater degree. Indians from San Luis Rey had gone as teachers among the savages of their race and founded centers of settlement. That at Pala numbered over a thousand and there was another at San Bernardino under Indian overseers and teachers. The Franciscans, with all their desire to collect their converts around the churches, respected the natives' attachment to their native abodes and preferred the extra labor on themselves involved in distant visits to removing them from these old abodes against their will. Peyri's influence over the whole Indian population was unlimited during thirty-five years, and then came the plan of Echeandia to "raise the natives from their abasement." The old priest resigned his work after Governor Victoria's deposition. He had to steal away from those he had so long trained, and more than five hundred followed him to San Diego to prevent his departure. Father Peyri gave his last blessing from the deck of the vessel which carried him to San Blas on his way to his native land. He took with him two Californian Indian boys to be trained for the priesthood at the College of the Propaganda. The fact suggests that the mental training of the Indians at San Luis had not been neglected during the cares of its temporal administration. Father Peyri returned to his native land to find his order there at the time under ban of an administration like Echeandia's in California. He longed, it is said, to return and die among his old converts but he was not given the privilege.

His converts clung close to their old abodes for a time, but the troubles of Alvarado's revolution swept away their flocks, which once numbered sixty thousand, and the new administrators had neither capacity nor inclination to direct the work of community workshops or cultivation. When the cattle had disappeared the administrator,

Pico, coveted the farming land at Temecula and secured it for his own from the Governor. Other lands were seized by white squatters without form of law. The Indian Christians melted away, but still kept together in small bands in remote spots of the territory which had once been theirs, before new theories of civilization replaced the Spanish laws that guaranteed them its possession. The Indians of Warner's Ranch, whose hardships in late years have drawn the attention of Congress, are a remnant of the population won from barbarism nearly a century ago by the zeal of Father Peyri and his fellow Franciscans of Spanish race.

In general features the powers given by Figueroa to the lay administrators were like those of Indian agents on reservations in the United States. Their official integrity and efficiency as civilizers was not widely different. Some tried to carry on the works of cultivation by common labor already established, but they lacked the moral influence of the old instructors and rarely succeeded in keeping any number steady to work. They received no inducement beyond daily rations, and they saw the accumulated stores of the former days given freely away to those who had done nothing to produce them. Grain, tallow, hides and other salable property was largely taken to support the soldiers of the rival Governors. Many agents made no scruples of giving the remaining cattle and tools to friends of their own as either loans or gifts. None had any capacity for directing the workshops, the tanneries, weaving and other arts introduced by their friar predecessors. The mission manufactures, which had been large, nearly all went out of existence in the first four years' secular rule. The vineyards, orchards, and irrigation works were alike neglected, and the cultivation of the fields ceased almost entirely within five years. Many administrators hired out the Indians under their care, or gave them as servants to friends or creditors. The regular routine of life established by the Franciscans with



its fixed hours of work, instruction and recreation, its festivals and public sports, was abandoned by most of the lay administrators. Though residence in the settlements was still required by law, it was little enforced, and most drifted away to hunt food in the old fashion on the hills or to join the gentiles beyond the Coast Range. They shared the epidemics which decimated the savages in 1838, and at other times, but no reckoning was kept of their numbers or condition after the friars were replaced by government agents. The one fact certain is that the Christian Indians nearly melted out of existence in a few years of the new administration.

In none of the missions was there any attempt at organized resistance to the measures of the agents. Complaints were numerous but nothing more. The decay of the mission communities, however, was followed by numerous acts of hostility on the part of the gentiles to the east, who had been almost uniformly peaceful under the Spanish rule. There is reason to believe that the fugitives from the missions had a large part in stirring up these raids, as a means of getting a share of the property which they regarded as their own.

The hostilities already spoken of at San Diego were paralleled in many other districts at the same time. The savages of the San Joaquin and Tulare Valleys raided the northern missions and the ranchos near in like fashion. Trappers and other adventurers from New Mexico encouraged and sometimes joined in these forays. At San Luis, in 1840, twelve hundred horses were carried off in a band from the mission by a party which, when overtaken by a Californian pursuing party, was said to number as many Americans as Indians. The pursuers did not risk an attack in consequence and the plunder was carried off. In other cases, however, Indian rancherias were destroyed without mercy. At Santa Clara a band of fugitives from the mission was exterminated in 1839, and the head of Yoscolo, their chief, displayed on a pole at

the secularized mission. The "ayuntamiento" of San Jose about the same time issued orders to kill all Indian "ladrones" without mercy. The same year Estrada brought seventy-seven Indian women and children as captives from the King's River country. Another party massacred nearly two hundred of all ages and sexes in the district near Clear Lake. For over sixty years whites and natives had dwelt together in peace under the policy of the mission system, protected by the Spanish rulers. It was followed by a condition like that of the early West Indian settlements which had aroused Las Casas and the Dominicans against Indian slavery in the sixteenth century. The moral deterioration of the white population by secularization was scarcely less than the ruin it wrought among the mission Indians.

On receipt of Hartnell's report Alvarado tried to remedy the evils, by new rules for administration. Like most similar proclamations they lacked any efficient sanction either in the material power of the Governor or his moral authority. They changed the name of office from administrators to stewards or mayordomos. The new mayordomos were directed to consult the friars at the missions on many points of their administration, though without obligation of attending to their suggestions. Contracts for supplies and sales of produce were to be made by the visitor exclusively, and hiring out the Indians as laborers to private employers had to be authorized by him. The others were to work for the community and might be "chastised moderately" at the mayordomo's discretion. A point on which particular stress was laid was the enforcement of morality and attendance at divine worship and religious instruction. The relaxation on these points that had accompanied the secularization had been one of the chief causes of the destruction of the native population. Under the Franciscan rule the young Indian girls had been brought up from an early age till marriage under care of native teachers of good moral

character. The building set apart for the girls was usually known as the "nunnery." One of the first emancipation measures of most administrators had been to send the girls back to the cabins of their parents or friends. At San Miguel it is mentioned that Graham, the adventurer who joined Alvarado in his revolt, broke open the mission "nunnery" with a gang of his companions for purposes which may readily be understood. An American visitor to California at the time of the first secularization reported that the trade in Indian women for immoral purposes was as freely practiced with the crews of American ships as at Honolulu, where a naval officer nine years before had enforced its permission by a threat to burn the town, if the chiefs attempted its suppression.

Hartnell's appointment and the new regulations did little beyond supplying statistics of the result of secularization. Father Duran summed the case up tersely. The regulations would, indeed, if carried out, stop plundering, but would bar any improvement in the existing conditions. "The doctor was forbidden to kill but was powerless to cure." The mission President further declined to receive any part of the mission lands for the benefit of the friars, as proposed by Alvarado. Food and means to travel on their duties, with the four hundred dollars provided by the Pious Fund, were all they needed. Mr. Hartnell served little over a year. The administrators made too much opposition to the proposed reforms and he had no means of enforcing them. At San Rafael he was even put under arrest by Vallejo, and a few months later he resigned his office. The ruin of the missions went on as before. In 1842 the French visitor, Dufflot de Mofras, found little over four thousand Indians attached to missions, a loss of forty per cent in three years. The decline shown by Father Duran's report, in 1844, was still greater. Three missions had been wholly abandoned, in nine the destruction of property and the utter discouragement of the natives had gone so far that there was no hope

of their recovery or continued existence, and only eight still maintained a semblance of their former condition. La Purissima had two hundred Christians and a vineyard, but neither cattle nor tillage. Santa Barbara, where Duran resided, kept nearly three hundred "with the greatest difficulty." Santa Inez, under care of Father Jimeno, retained two hundred and sixty-four, of a population once four times that number, and was able to feed and clothe them decently. San Buenaventura was equally well off. San Fernando had two vineyards and a few cattle and was fairly well managed by Father Ordaz, who seems to have been left to provide as best he could for keeping the Indians together there. San Gabriel had three hundred Indians but the vineyards were the only means of support left them. Cattle, grain fields and manufactures had ceased to exist. San Luis Rey had scarcely anything left. Four hundred natives of the three thousand that had dwelt there when Father Peyri left still lingered around, and the old friar, Father Zalvidea, was broken down and nearly helpless. San Diego had nothing, but Father Oliva cared for the spiritual wants of a hundred remaining Indians, who represented the sixteen hundred of Spanish times. San Juan Capistrano had no priest and its Indians were scattered. San Miguel and San Luis Obispo were in the like condition. Such was the picture of the Californian missions after nine years of management by Indian agents. Hartnell, the official visitor, confirmed the accuracy of Duran's report in a letter preserved by Bancroft. "The missions," he wrote, "are almost entirely gone to ruin and can never be brought back to their former state." The writer, however, thought this would be for the ultimate benefit of the country. He was engaged in correspondence with a Mr. Wylie, the representative of English holders of Mexican claims, which they desired to commute for concessions of lands in California. The destruction of the mission Indians would leave their lands free for occupation by Anglo-Saxon colonists if the con-

cession could be arranged. Hartnell felt he had done his duty towards the natives as a philanthropist, by the new method of bookkeeping for the mission agents. He had no fault to find with the friars, and no inclination to imitate their example in working gratuitously for others.

Alexander Forbes, the English Consul at Tepic, who was engaged in the same syndicate with Wylie, was equally frank, and he further expressed his hearty contempt for efforts to raise the condition of weak races. His book on California was the first on it to appear in England, and was written in the first year of secularization, while the Indian Christians were still three-fourths of the settled population in California. The writer had never been there but made his remarks on the missions with even more florid eloquence than Echeandia and Padres. He asked, warmly, "What service have those friars rendered the Spanish nation, or the world in general? They have transformed the aborigines of a beautiful country from free savages into pusilanimous, superstitious slaves. Is there anyone who can suppose that these men who once wandered on their native wilds free as the wind on their mountains, were not happier than the wretched herd of human animals which are now penned in the missionary folds? Can anyone, of a well constituted mind, approve of this transformation or reflect on it without sorrow? No one with the feelings of a man, will prefer this happiness of the stalled ox, to the enjoyments of the free and robust Californian savages, tracking the wild deer on their native plains, bringing up fish from their waters, traversing uncontrolled their forests and mountains, or basking in dreamy inactivity on the banks of their rivers or the shores of the ocean."

With this charming picture of savage life Forbes contrasted bitterly an equally accurate one of the converts. They were "Slaves under another name, leading the life of grovelling animals, on a lower scale than even the domesticated negroes of the West Indies. They were so

stupid as even to be incapable of begging, when their existence seemed at stake. They were held in an extreme state of debasement which had not only diminished their mental powers but lessened their bodily ones. Though the natives were low even in scale of savage happiness, their condition as domesticated animals was a degree below this, when we look to the mind, the only source of enjoyment that deserves the name of human."

With the interests of the English company then seeking control of the California missions in view Mr. Forbes had no hesitation in arguing for their suppression. "Laymen, capable of instructing savages on matters concerning their temporal weal and comfort, would be infinitely more serviceable to them, and the cause of humanity and Christianity, than religious missionaries possibly could be."

It is curious that while the declamations of the Mexican advocates of secularization like Echeandia are received with merited ridicule, the same ideas expressed in English like that of Forbes have been readily endorsed by many writers in this country. Mr. Bancroft, while personally praising most of the Spanish friars, declares Duran's plea for keeping up the community system of property among the natives, on the grounds of their childlike ignorance of commercial business ways, as "a condemnation of the mission system in all but missionary eyes." It would be as just to condemn it for not training the converts in military tactics. The writer of the Famous Missions, likewise, though crediting the Franciscans with high personal qualities, follows Mr. Forbes with childlike confidence. "The domesticated Indians were held down rigorously to a condition of servile dependence, slaves to the castiron power of a system which, *like all systems, was capable of unlimited abuse*, and which at best was narrow and arbitrary. Every vestige of freedom was taken from them when they entered the settlement. Henceforth they

belonged, body and soul, to the mission and its authorities."

The grotesque misuse of words in language like this and that of Forbes seems to call for some pictures of the life actually led in the missions by those so confidently described as slaves, domesticated human animals, and even "grovelling animals." The Spanish laws which gave Indians an appeal to the military officials against any ill treatment by the friars were always strictly maintained, as the history of the country shows from Fages to Arguello. The prohibition of excessive hours of toil, of punishment beyond that of schoolboys, and of insufficient distribution of food have been already described as laid down both by the military Governors and the heads of the Franciscan college, with sanction for the latter by the law of "holy obedience" to the rule of St. Francis. Men like Serra, Lasuen, Payeras, Sarria and Duran were not mere ignorant enthusiasts without knowledge of human nature or human rights in their converts. Apart from these considerations of abstract weight, it is well to give a few sketches of actual mission life, as seen by strangers of a different race and religion from the friars, in the time just before secularization.

Albert Robinson, who visited Monterey in 1829, before secularization was begun, tells of a festival day at Mission San Jose. "The festival eve the Indians of Santa Clara were starting off in numbers and ere the sun had set hundreds were on the road to San Jose. The morning offered the same lively scene of people going to the feast, and at an early hour Padre Viader's carriage was brought to the door. It was an odd arrangement designed by himself and built by the Indian mechanics under his orders. It was a narrow body, wide enough for one person only, hung on a pair of low wheels and covered with cotton. The seat was stuffed with wool to make up for absence of springs and the harness made from rawhide, though not very ornamental, was strong and answered

every purpose. It was drawn by a fine black mule, on which a little Indian boy sat and helped to guide, in connection with a more experienced Indian who, mounted on horseback, guided the mule with a riata. Three or four of the priest's boys attended, and in the rear followed the *alcaldes* of the mission, dressed for the occasion with red and blue ribbons flowing from their hats. Mass began and at the usual time, Father Viader mounted the pulpit and delivered a sermon explaining the celebration of the day. The music was well executed, for it had been practiced daily under the particular supervision of Father Duran. There were about thirty musicians and the instruments were violins, flutes, trumpets and drums. So acute was the ear of the priest that he would detect a false note on the part of anyone instantly and chide the performer.

"After mass we passed out of the church through a shower of rockets. Dinner was served early to give us time to witness the performances of the Indians and as there were many strangers a very long table was set to accommodate all. After the cloth was removed the good old friars retired to their siesta and we went to the front corridor to see the fun.

"At a signal from their captain several Indians presented themselves and approached us slowly. They were dressed with feathers and painted red and black. They formed a circle and began dancing. It did not seem to me they had any change of figure, but beat time with their feet to the singing of half a dozen persons seated on the ground. When these had finished another party appeared, painted and adorned differently, whose dance was also quite dissimilar. While these amusements were going on we were called to chocolate, but the enthusiasm of the Indians hardly gave us time to finish when we heard them crying, 'Here comes the bear.' The bull made only a few plunges and laid him stiff on the ground. This over, Deppe and I walked to the encampment where the



Indians were dancing in groups as we had seen them at the mission. Around the space which they occupied were little booths displaying a variety of ornaments, seeds and fruits. All was hilarity and good feeling, for the prudence of Father Narcisco had forbidden the sale of liquor. At sundown the bells were rung, rockets let off, guns fired, and long after supper at a late hour of the night we could hear from our beds the continued shouts of the multitude."

At Santa Barbara Robinson found the Indians assembled on Sunday afternoon to indulge in their favorite sports. When he returned from dinner "they had adjusted the boundary lines for the two parties who were to play that afternoon at ball. Two or three hundred Indians were engaged in the game. It was the Presidio against the Mission. They played with a small ball of hardwood which, when struck, would bound with tremendous force without striking the ground for two or three hundred yards. Great excitement prevailed, and it was not till late in the afternoon that the game was decided in favor of the Indians of the Presidio. Many of the Indians afterwards retired to the enjoyment of their 'temescales' or hot air baths, which is their usual resort after fatigue."

At San Luis Rey the same writer found three thousand Indians under the management of Father Peyri. "All were engaged in various occupations. Some were employed in agriculture, while others attended to the management of sixty thousand cattle. Many were carpenters, masons, coopers, saddlers, shoemakers, weavers, while the females were employed in spinning and preparing wool for the looms, which produced enough blankets for their yearly consumption. Thus everyone had his particular employment and each department its superintendent or Indian alcalde. These were under one or more Spanish mayordomos appointed by the missionary. The building occupies a large square in the center of which

a fountain supplies the establishment with pure water. The interior is divided into apartments for the missionaries and mayordomos, storerooms, workshops, hospitals, lodgings for unmarried men and women, while near-by is a range of buildings for the families of the superintendents.

"The church is a large stone edifice, not without considerable ornament and tasteful finish. The interior is richer and adorned with a variety of pictures of saints and Scripture subjects." At San Gabriel which Mr. Robinson reached on a Saturday evening "the chapel bells tolled the hour for prayer. Hundreds of Indians were kneeling on the ground and as the tolling ceased they slowly rose to retire and a merry peal announced the coming of Sunday. In the morning at six we went to the church where the priest had already commenced mass. I could not but admire the apparent devotion of the multitude who seemed absorbed, heart and soul, in the scene before them. The solemn music of the mass was well selected and the Indian voices accorded harmoniously with the flutes and violins that accompanied."

These pictures of mission Indian life in its work, recreations and solemn worship, as seen by an observer, without sympathy with the spiritual motives of their instructors, do not bear out the terms "abasement," "mere animal existence." The crowd who passed their recreation in the excitement of a ball game or practice of their old-time dances, without drunkenness or quarrelling, can hardly be fitly described as "mere domesticated animals lower in the scale of even savage happiness than their naked countrymen," who gorged, in time of plenty, on whale blubber, and killed one another at the impulse of childish passion. "Helpless slaves engaged in superstitious exercises, and immersed in the most complete ignorance" hardly conveys the idea of the musicians of Father Durra's choir, or of the Indian alcaldes riding in

their Sunday finery to a merry-making after each week's direction of workshops and vineyards.

It is true that Mr. Robinson after sketching Indian life as he saw it felt called to pronounce it "miserable indeed," but the sole reason he gives for that judgment is that the Indians in San Luis were required to attend mass daily. "Most of the Indians attended it, but it was not uncommon to see them driven on by the alcaldes and forced to the very door of the sanctuary. Moreover, the men were placed on one side of the church and the women on the other, so that a passage was formed between them from the door to the altar, where zealous officials were placed to enforce silence and attention. Their condition is miserable, indeed." We can accept the accuracy of the description here given without accepting the writer's conclusion that attendance at divine worship is, indeed, misery. The same can be said of his remark that the workshops at San Luis offered a "scene not dissimilar from the working departments of some of our State prisons."

Most factories present like resemblances even now, and it is not said what special feature of the Indian weaving or carpentry was especially penal in look. A more practical comparison may be made of the comparative condition of laborers in the California missions and those of large classes of American and English workers at the time, from Dana's description of a sailor's life in "Two Years Before the Mast:"

"We were kept at work all day which, together with a watch at night, made us glad to turn in when we got below. Thus we had no time for reading, or what was more to us, of washing or mending our clothes. At sea we were all kept on deck and at work, rain or shine, making spun yarn and rope in good weather and picking oakum when it was too wet for anything else. All hands were kept on deck for hours in a drenching rain, standing so far apart as to prevent our talking with one another, picking old

rope to pieces with our tarpaulins on. \* \* The only time we could be said to have any pleasure was at night and morning when we were allowed a tin pot full of hot tea, sweetened with molasses." The Sunday attendance at mass which to Mr. Robinson's eyes made the condition of the Indians "miserable, indeed," was certainly not imposed on the American sailors of the time. "Reading and clothes mending has to be put off till Sunday, which is usually given in the American merchant service. Some religious captains give their crews Saturday afternoon for washing and mending so that they may have their Sundays free. We were well satisfied if we got Sundays to ourselves, for if any hides came down on that day we had to bring them off, which usually took half a day, and as we now lived on fresh beef the animal was nearly always brought down on Sunday and we had to go ashore, kill it, dress it, and bring it aboard." It was not that the American sailors had not ideas of religious observance and a future life as well as the mission Indians. "If there is anything," said Dana, "that irritates sailors it is being deprived of their Sabbath, not that they would always or, indeed, generally spend it religiously, but it is their only day of rest. I remember that one of the men quoted Father Taylor, a Boston preacher, who told them if they were ordered to work on Sunday they must not refuse their duty and the blame would not come on them." When a man was lost overboard the hard fact of death impressed the imaginations of the American sailors as it did the Indians. "The lost man is seldom mentioned or is dismissed with, 'Well, poor George is gone.' Then follows usually some allusion to another world, for sailors are almost all believers, though their notions and opinions are unfixed. They say, 'God won't be hard on the poor fellow,' and seldom get beyond the common phrase—to work hard, live hard, die hard and go to hell after all, would be hard, indeed." The average life of American and British sailors at the time of the Californian missions.

does not seem to warrant describing, by comparison with it, that of the Christian Californians as miserable.

The personal independence of the sailors hardly compared better with that of the Indian converts. The captain of the vessel had taken a dislike, Dana tells, "to a large, heavy moulded fellow from the Middle States, called Sam." He resented some words from him on one occasion and knocked him down promptly. "Then came the question, 'Will you ever give me any more of your jaw?' 'I never gave you any, sir,' said Sam. 'That is not what I ask you, will you ever be impudent to me again?' 'I never have been,' said Sam. 'Answer my question or I'll flog you.' 'I am no negro slave,' said Sam. 'Then I'll make you one,' said the captain, and he came up the hatchway and called to the mate: 'Seize that man up, make a spread-eagle of him. I'll teach you all who is master aboard.' Sam was seized up, with his wrists fast and his back exposed. The captain stood on the deck a little raised to have a good swing at him with the bight of a thick rope. The officers stood around and the crew grouped in the waist. The first impulse was resistance, but what is there for sailors to do. If a sailor resists his commander he resists the law, and piracy or submission are his only alternatives. Swinging the rope over his head and bending his body so as to give it more force, the captain brought it down on the poor fellow's back once, twice, six times. 'Will you ever give me any more of your jaw?' The man writhed with pain but said not a word. Three times more and he muttered something I could not catch, this brought down as many more as he could stand when the captain ordered him to be cut down and go forward. The captain followed up by a similar punishment to another sailor for asking what the first man was flogged for. 'Can't a man ask a question here without being flogged,' pleaded the able seaman. 'No,' shouted the captain, 'nobody shall open his mouth on this vessel but myself,' and he began laying the blows on his back. He danced about the deck as

his passion increased calling out, 'If you want to know what I flog you for I'll tell you. It is because I like to do it. It suits me, that is what I do it for.' At length the blows ceased, the mate cut the man down at a signal from the captain and almost doubled with pain he walked to the forecastle. The captain walked the quarter deck calling out to us, 'You see your condition, you know what you have to expect. Now you know what I am. I'll make you toe the mark or I'll flog every soul of you. You have got a driver over you. Yes, a slave driver. I'll see who will tell me he is not a negro slave.' Soon after John came aft with his bare back covered with wales and frightfully swollen and asked the steward to get some salve. 'No,' said the captain, 'tell him to put his shirt on and pull me ashore in the boat.' The two men could hardly bend their backs and the captain called to them to give way, but finding they did their best he let them alone. The agent was in the stern sheets, but during the whole pull, not a word was spoken."

The agent in the stern sheets was no other than Mr. Robinson, who found the San Luis Indians so "miserable, indeed," through the obligation to attend mass imposed on them. One wonders what he thought of the condition of sailors under his own country's flag. The sailor's feelings towards himself were certainly not those of the Indians towards Peyri. Dana mentions, elsewhere, that on the return of the brig to port the first boat from land shouted, "Good news." Some of the sailors eagerly asked, "Has the b—y agent slipped off the hooks?" The inquiry may be compared with Father Peyri's final leave taking from his "abased flock."

## CHAPTER XXIV

### MICHELTORENA AND RESTORATION

After two years of bloodless anarchy Alvarado had been legally made Governor in 1838, with, however, only political powers. His uncle, Vallejo, was named Military Commander, with the rank of captain at the same time. Neither found their situation as pleasant as could be desired. They had to depend for support on the resources of the territory, as Mexico sent no salaries to its self-appointed representatives. The missions during the twenty years before secularization had furnished much the largest amount of public contributions to carry on the provincial government in all its branches. Almost the only other revenue had been drawn from the customs duties. The secularization agents had nearly exhausted the first in three years of their management. Alvarado and his assembly had cut the second to one-half by their first legislation as revolutionists. When the authority of the Central Government was restored, the regular Mexican duties, of course, came into force again, but the foreign ship-owners and merchants had no intention to submit to them. They evaded payments and fixed them at their own will by methods which Alvarado was powerless to suppress.

Mr. Davis, an old trader of the time, has given a curiously outspoken description of the merchant's methods in which he had a part. "In entering goods at the custom house the revenue officers did not require any oath from the merchants, and the practice was to prepare fictitious invoices and pay \$10,000 instead of \$40,000 on a cargo of the value last named. Had the skipper been compelled, under a more stringent administration of the law, to pay the full duties he could not have made a fair profit out of the business. It will be seen there were excellent reasons

why the payment of duties should be evaded. They operated to such an extent that the merchant did not feel under that moral restraint, especially in absence of the oath, that under other circumstances he might have experienced. If he defrauded the Government he was helping the people."

Mr. Davis certainly gives a clear description of the moral standards of the foreign residents, whose help had enabled Alvarado to upset the government of Gutierrez. He further tells, frankly, the course of action of Alvarado and his friends when in office. "Although I never knew an instance of bribery of an official by a merchant, the officers of the revenue must have had in their own minds an idea that the customs laws were evaded." The revenue administration of the Californian secularists was on a par with their military campaigns against each other. It must, in fairness, be remembered that the two who had made themselves heads of the government, mainly through the seizure of the missions, were neither thirty years of age. Vallejo had what military experience could be gained by ten years' service as a subordinate militia officer, Alvarado, the financial, gained by two years' clerking in the customs and a previous term in a foreign trader's store at Monterey. Both had the legislative knowledge that could be gained from four years' membership in an assembly of seven country boys, who got their first lessons in statesmanship from Colonel Echeandia and General Figueroa, with secularization as its chief end.

An additional scourge fell on the Indian population the year of Alvarado's election. An epidemic of smallpox started from Fort Ross and made the northern valleys almost bare of inhabitants in a few months. Vallejo, from Sonoma, had an opportunity of estimating the destruction of life and he placed it above sixty thousand. The mission Indians whom he had emancipated "from the clutches of the friars," and sent back to the freedom of their homes, shared the fate of the unconverted savages.



A like epidemic had laid Sacramento Valley desolate in 1833, the origin being traced to trappers. Such causes may serve to account for the strange disappearance of the mission Indians in a few years of secularization.

Vallejo, as a Mexican officer, tried for some time to keep up a military company at Sonoma. He enlisted Indian auxiliaries separately, and visited Monterey with a party of them commanded by the chief, whose name still lives in Solano county. Alvarado would contribute nothing to support the force and it was soon reduced to a few officers and a roll of names. Vallejo, with clearer insight than his nephew, decided that it was impossible for California to keep any national existence long, under the circumstances brought about by the revolution there. He sent a messenger to Mexico, urging its administration to furnish California with a competent Governor and adequate garrison on the former Spanish system. He offered his own resignation as Commandant and promised loyal co-operation with the Mexican authorities in forming an efficient government for the province.

Bustamente, then President, after the fall of Santa Anna, accepted Vallejo's advice and tried a final effort to restore order and law in California. All the Mexican statesmen recognized the value for that end of a restoration of the missions, as well as an adequate force to prevent disorders like those which had followed their secularization. The administration did not venture to seek aid from new Spanish friars, indeed the ruin of San Fernando College made it impossible. Bustamente tried to carry out the alternative suggested first to Figueroa by Father Duran. He applied to the Holy See to make California a diocese and to name as its first bishop, the Franciscan, Garcia Diego. He had been some years President of the missions transferred in 1833 to the Mexican priests from Zacatecas. Gregory XVI. consented. It may be mentioned that Father Diego's selection was made from a "terna" or list of three candidates proposed by the Chap-

ter of the Cathedral of Mexico. The President selected him from the three and the nomination was approved by the Holy See.



THE FIRST BISHOP OF CALIFORNIA

The Mexican Government at this time seems to have been sincerely desirous of restoring the missions, if possible. Congress voted six thousand dollars' salary to the new Bishop, who was consecrated in 1840. It further ordered the estates of the Pious Fund to be placed at his disposal, and the transfer was made by the treasury. The Bishop named Senor Ramirez, a member of Congress from Zacatecas, as his administrator of the property. The

property in land of the missions in California was still in law vested in the native converts.

The Pious Fund had been kept intact, though much diminished in value, since the separation of Mexico from Spain. It was administered by a committee, and as early as 1836, when the appointment of a Bishop was first proposed, Congress had ordered it to be transferred to him when appointed. He, alone, was to control its revenues. "To order and invest, according to its purposes, or others of a like kind, with respect always to the intentions of its Founders." When subsequently Castillero, the deputy from California, proposed to put the Pious Fund at the disposal of the territorial authorities, Congress rejected the proposition. The revenues of the Fund, indeed, were freely called on for loans by the Mexican administration in its chronic poverty. Sixty thousand dollars were thus borrowed, at the time of Alvarado's revolt, "for restoring quiet to the Californias." The duty of repayment, however, was acknowledged and between 1834 and 1837 some thirty-three thousand dollars were sent to the Californian friars, Spanish as well as Mexican.

Ramirez, as agent for Bishop Diego, only retained his position sixteen months. In that time he sent twenty-two thousand dollars to the Californian missionaries and paid thirty-eight thousand more of outstanding debts. He reported at the end of 1841 that the estates might be relied on for an annual clear revenue of thirty-four thousand dollars. Bishop Diego had already left for his diocese with good hope of carrying out Duran's plan successfully there and providing successors for the old missionaries through the formation of a missionary college for California.

The good intentions of Congress and President were only effective for a brief period. The practical politicians of Mexico felt the same greed for the Pious Fund Estates as those of California had for the missions. In 1842 a new decree, in consequence of the refusal of Ramirez to

make a loan of forty thousand dollars to the government, restored the administration of the Fund to the treasury. At the same time it declared that its revenues should continue devoted to their original object "the conversion and civilization of savages." Santa Anna, a few months later "to carry out the benevolent and public objects of the founders with all exactness" decreed the estates sold "to save the expenses of separate administration." The proceeds were to be paid into the treasury which was to pay six per cent on the amount to the "original objects of the Fund." The sale was made but the interest never paid, either on the amount realized, said to have been about six hundred thousand dollars, or the million of debts due the Fund by the treasury for former loans. The Pious Fund and the California missions passed away almost at the same time.

Bishop Diego was received with enthusiasm by all classes on his arrival at Santa Barbara in 1841. He made it his residence and obtained the use of the mission for that purpose, temporarily. A cathedral and seminary were planned and some materials were collected by the zeal of the population, who also subscribed several thousand dollars towards the purpose. The failure of the Bishop to receive the revenues of the Pious Fund prevented the execution of these works at Santa Barbara. A year and a half later, however, he began the seminary at Santa Inez Mission, near which the Governor had made the church authorities a grant of six square leagues of land in full property for that purpose. Micheltorena added an endowment of five hundred dollars yearly, on the condition that every Californian should be admitted as a student, if qualified, to receive a higher education, either lay or clerical. Father Joaquin Jimeno, a Fernandino and Father Sanchez, a Zacatecan Franciscan, were named rector and vice-rector of the new institution which began with five seminarians. The Bishop, after founding the seminary, made an extended visitation of his diocese as far

north as San Francisco, to administer confirmation. His reception at Monterey and other places was as cordial as at Santa Barbara. Secularization, whatever its effects, had not been prompted by hostility to religion, like the destruction of the monasteries of England or the excesses of the French Reign of Terror. Spanish Californians of all classes retained devotion to the Catholic Church and its clergy. A curious evidence of this is furnished by a letter written at the time by an American merchant from Honolulu, John Coffin Jones, and preserved by Bancroft. "Religion appears to be the order of the day," wrote this gentleman, who during his residence in the Islands had only known the Catholic Church as a proscribed sect. "Too much of it has made the people mad. The bishop rules triumphant and the wretched priest-ridden dupes would lick the dust from his shoes would he but will it. If what is taught here is religion the less we have of it the better, indeed it is blasphemy. The tithes will be paid by these good people in preference, they say, to other demands. I am not certain that this will satisfy the rapacious appetites of these blood-sucking emissaries of the Pope, they are all of the horse leech family whose cry is ever 'Give, give.' " Mr. Jones, it should be said, was familiar with the missionary work of his countrymen in Hawaii when he penned this character of the friars in California.

Besides the restoration to the friars of management of the twelve missions, Micheltorena granted a square league of land, and the mission buildings and vineyards at San Luis Obispo and San Miguel, to the Bishop for the use of the Church. After his appointment the friars, though retaining connection with their orders, acted as parish priests and diocesan functionaries. The Bishop brought two Franciscans with him from Zacatecas and two or three students whom he later ordained in California. The number of priests in the province was thus slightly increased at the time.

After the church organization had been settled, President Bustamente appointed a Governor for California, with the combined civil and military authority. He named General Micheltorena for the post, six years after the nomination of Chico. He was given a force of two hundred soldiers and three hundred recruits as a kind of military colonists. They were to be, as far as possible, married and acquainted with some trade. The force seems to have been modelled on the expedition which Colonel Anza had led to San Francisco sixty-five years before. The twenty years' experience of new methods in Mexico seems to have drawn her rulers back to older ideas, both in regard to the missions and to colonization. Congress further returned to Spanish precedents by voting a subsidy of eight thousand dollars monthly for support of the garrison of California.

In carrying its projects into execution, however, the Mexican administration showed less efficiency than the Spanish Viceroy. Micheltorena, the Mexican Governor, had neither the energy nor the moral character of Anza. Mr. Davis, who met him frequently, describes him as "six feet high, straight, of handsome appearance, with a military air and bearing. He spoke French fluently and his own language so fluently that it was a pleasure to hear him. He was fond of talking, an inveterate smoker, a graceful and entertaining conversationalist. He and Captain Paty were brother Masons and they played chess every night (on board the vessel) until two or three in the morning. He went to bed late and took chocolate a-bed in the morning." It was hardly by such accomplishments or habits that Anza conducted his colony from Tubac to San Francisco. It may be added that the General, like his predecessors, Chico and Figueroa, was of loose private morals. He brought a lady with him to California where, at the advice of Bishop Diego, he publicly married her to remove scandal.

The selection of the military recruits showed also a de-

terioration from the methods of Bucareli and Anza. Two hundred regular soldiers were taken from the garrison of Jalisco, the other recruits were chiefly drawn from the jails of different cities. Many had never before handled a gun but were enlisted without difficulty. Though it had been promised to bring the families of the soldiers with them, only a few were brought and these in a state of destitution very unlike the liberal provision of clothing given by Anza to his colonists. A good many of the recruits slipped away before reaching San Blas and not over four hundred of all classes landed in San Diego in August, 1842. It must be said that the majority behaved well while in California. Mr. Davis, who traveled on shipboard with a party of a hundred and fifty, says it was a common remark among the American sailors and officers how well the soldiers behaved.

The new Governor was well received at San Diego and spent some weeks there organizing his command and drilling the recruits. He notified Alvarado and Vallejo of his arrival and called for surrender of their positions to himself. Vallejo complied at once, but Alvarado showed inclination to hang on to office as long as possible and pleaded ill health as an excuse for not leaving Monterey. Micheltorena, with his troops, started to meet him there.

An unlooked for incident made Alvarado quit the capital before his coming. On the 19th of October, two American vessels dropped anchor there and their commander, Commodore Jones, demanded in a note to Alvarado immediate possession of the town, if he wished "to avoid the sacrifice of human life and the horrors of war," which the Commodore stated would follow his refusal to do so.

Monterey was quite as defenceless as at the time it was attacked by Bouchard's corsairs, twenty-five years earlier. There were only thirty soldiers and a few old field pieces, and, as Mexico was at peace with all nations, no fears of hostilities were entertained by anyone. Alvarado showed his political capacity and eloquence by at once signing a

capitulation "from motives of humanity, having no means to resist." The Commodore generously promised "security of persons, private property and religious rights" if the soldiers and officials would surrender themselves to be sent to Mexico on parole at the cost of the United States. He landed a hundred and fifty marines who hauled down the Mexican flag and replaced it by the American. The couple of dozen soldiers laid down their arms and left without any attempt to detain them. Alvarado, likewise, quitted the town after signing the capitulation and the rest of the astonished population was left in hopeless bewilderment and terror.

Commodore Jones in his own way undertook to quiet them by a proclamation, which for eloquence and accuracy in facts merits comparison with Alvarado's denunciation of the missions. It was in both the English and Spanish languages, and assured the population that if they kept quiet they would not be harmed.

"Although I come," wrote the Commodore, "as the representative of a powerful nation, upon which the central government of Mexico has waged war, I come not to spread desolation among California's peaceful inhabitants. It is against the armed enemies of my country, banded and arrayed under the flag of Mexico, that war and its dread consequences will be enforced. You have only to remain at your homes in pursuit of peaceful vocations to insure security of life, person and property, from the consequences of an unjust war into which Mexico has plunged you. Those stars and stripes, infallible emblems of civil liberty, now float triumphantly before you and henceforth and forever will give protection to you, your children and countless unborn thousands. All the rights and privileges you now enjoy, together with the privilege of choosing magistrates and other officers for the administration of justice among yourselves, will be secured to all who remain peacefully at their homes and offer no resistance to the forces of the United States."



The residents of Monterey had barely twenty-four hours to study this remarkable proclamation from an unknown foreign officer when the American flag was hauled down, the marines recalled to their ships and a messenger sent after Alvarado to inform him it was all a mistake. The "unjust war into which Mexico had plunged California" had no existence, save in Jones's proclamation. The Commodore had only said there was, as a matter of possibility, and had found actual evidence that there was none when rummaging the papers of the Monterey Custom House after its seizure. The Mexican flag was again raised and saluted, the American officers called on the Mexican officials and the latter returned their visit. The action of Commodore Jones in occupying a defenceless port of a friendly nation was wholly on his own responsibility.

Before leaving, the Commodore gathered some claims of alleged American citizens against Mexico for wrongs sustained during residence under its jurisdiction. One was that of Mr. Graham for seventy-two thousand dollars on account of his arrest by Alvarado. He estimated his loss of time during his deportation at fifteen hundred dollars a month, and the Commodore demanded that the judge at Monterey should attest the justice of his claim. The Mexican judge refused and Commodore Jones took no further action. Graham had served in Alvarado's rebellion at two dollars a day and free quarters.

Commodore Jones was recalled, and Daniel Webster assured the Mexican Minister that he "had intended no indignity towards Mexico, nor anything unlawful towards its citizens" by seizing one of its ports in time of peace. He was ordered by the Secretary of the Navy to return home "in such mode as might be most convenient and agreeable to himself." At Washington, John Quincy Adams, in Congress, the following year introduced a resolution for "the signal punishment of any officer invading the territory of a nation at peace with the United States,"

but it failed to pass, and two years later Secretary Mason informed the Commodore that the President had authorized him to say "that he perceived in the circumstances of his conduct while in command of the Pacific Squadron evidences of an ardent zeal in the service of his country and a devotion to what he deemed his duty which entitled him to anything but censure." The moral standard of practical politics in Washington in 1845 was not remarkably high.

Governor Micheltorena stayed at Los Angeles the rest of the year with his troops. He had not been called to any part in the temporary capture of his official residence. Commodore Jones sent him an explanation of his mistake and the Mexican Governor responded that "satisfaction for such an unjustifiable act of war ought to be as public as the act itself," and added that he was marching with his command on Monterey when he received Jones's note. His answer was sent to the American Minister in Mexico, who complained loudly of "its rudeness and gasconade" and "coarse and abusive epithets." Micheltorena's share in the incident went no further, as he was out of office before he could hear of Minister Thompson's criticism. The criticism indeed, as that gentleman wrote to the Secretary of State at Washington, was not meant to be personal. "It would have done no good," he wrote, "to have assumed any lower tone, for the Mexican government are disposed to make the most of this unfortunate affair, and I should not be surprised if they were to attempt to have it considered as a payment of all our claims." It would be hard indeed to have claims, like Mr. Graham's seventy thousand dollars for illegal arrest by a Mexican official, offset by claims for the lawless capture of a town by an American Commodore.

The chief reason for the delay at Los Angeles was want of funds for the military force. The Congressional appropriation of eight thousand a month was paid, like the revenues of the Pious Fund, in promises only. The Gov-

ernor had to feed his men as best he could from the local resources, and they had been reduced to almost nothing by the destruction of the missions and the systematic smuggling practices of the foreign shippers. The only resource open was the public domain, and Micheltorena deeded it away freely. One of his early grants was to Captain Vallejo, in return for provisions for the troops. Others were made for less valuable consideration,—often to secure personal popularity. According to Mr. Davis, Micheltorena when leaving California expressed regret to his brother Mason, Captain Paty, that he had not given him a large land grant as a mark of friendship.

He made no attempt, however, to disturb the lands of the Indians attached to missions. His orders were to restore their management to the friars, and he did so in March, 1843, by a decree. The reasons given were that the missions at the time had been reduced to their lands and buildings and could not even support the priests required for public service. The Governor hoped that, if the management of the lands was returned to the friars, they might be able to gather enough Indians to cultivate them, and so defray the cost of public worship for the general community.

The decree restored twelve missions to the Franciscans without distinction of their nationality. They were: San Diego, San Luis Rey, San Juan Capistrano, San Gabriel, San Fernando, San Buenaventura, Santa Barbara, La Purissima, Santa Inez, San Antonio, San Jose and Santa Clara. In the other nine the native population had disappeared so completely under the government agents that it seemed useless to attempt their restoration. Some lands belonging to the restored missions had already been occupied without legal title by squatters, and these the Governor did not remove. He only promised that no grants should be made from the remaining lands set apart for the natives. The friars were put in possession of these, as guardians, and they were empowered to recover any

stock or tools belonging to the missions that they could trace in possession of the lay administrators or their friends. They were authorized to employ all the Indians they could induce to work, on shares, under the old mission system, and in return for the privilege they were required to keep the churches in good order and duly served for the whole population. They were further expected, as soon as they could develop cultivation to any extent, to pay one-eighth of the gross produce to the Territorial Government as a tax. For the present, however, the decree left the assessment and payment of this extra tax wholly to the discretion and honor of the friar administrators.

Father Duran was still Prefect of the Spanish friars and Father Rubio of those from Zacatecas. Both accepted the task offered them, though with little hope of ultimate success. Father Oliva undertook to manage San Diego, which retained two ranchos, Santa Isabel, and El Cajon, and about a hundred natives gathered at his invitation. The Mayordomo only turned over ten cows as the remainder of the former stock, but with them Oliva began work and claimed to have had some success during the next two years in increasing the property.

Father Zalvidea was put in charge of San Luis Rey, where four hundred of Peyri's converts still were left. The agent surrendered two hundred and fifty cattle and as many horses, the representatives of the sixty thousand the mission had once owned. The lands once attached to it had, however, been largely seized by private individuals on account of their improved character. Pico, the lay administrator, had appropriated one of the best tracts of cultivated land. The branch establishment at San Bernardino had been ruined by hostilities long before and its lands granted to other occupiers. Some gardens and orchards yet remained near the central Mission and were given up without trouble to Zalvidea's care.

At San Fernando, when Father Ordaz took charge, the

vineyards and gardens were all that were left to support three hundred natives. He succeeded in buying a hundred and twenty cattle from their produce during the next two years as a beginning, though he had also to pay debts left by the last agent. Santa Barbara, where Father Duran resided; and had always remained, was in better material condition than any other mission. It retained some of the old workshops, as well as the vineyards and orchards, when Duran resumed charge in 1843. Two years later it had five hundred horses, a thousand cattle and eighteen hundred sheep, and the carpentershop, smithy, cloth factory, tannery and soap making were in operation with Indian labor. Of the whole property delivered by the friars to the government agents in 1834, less than a twentieth was restored in 1843 by Micheltoarena's decree, exclusive of lands and buildings.

After issuing the order for restoration of the missions the Governor brought his soldiers to Monterey and quartered them in its barracks. He applied with considerable diligence to restoring order in the provincial administration after the neglect of Alvarado's rule. He was personally much liked by the Spanish Californians and also by his soldiers. Without resources, he could do little in the way of improvements, but he showed intelligence of the public needs in those he attempted. Besides the seminary at Santa Inez, which was a college for lay, as well as clerical students, he planned a college at Monterey and assigned its principal twelve hundred dollars annually, the same salary as that of the territorial judges. One of his Mexican officers established a large academy for boys at Los Angeles, which numbered a hundred pupils, and the Governor had seven new schools for girls founded in different towns. To make expenses balance with the scanty revenue, he suppressed several useless posts in the civil administration and induced his military officers to serve temporarily for half pay. It should be said that he included his own salary in the list of reductions and

showed a disinterestedness in strong contrast with that of the local politicians. He had no disputes with the local assembly and was popular with the country as well as the town population. During over a year it looked as though California might return to the old habits of order of its existence before Echeandia's secularization projects.

Alvarado, however, was again ambitious of office, and towards the close of 1844 he and Castro began a revolt like that against Gutierrez. Castro had been made a militia colonel by the assemblymen in 1836, and under Alvarado had been commander of the militia while Vallejo was nominal military commandant. Castro's father had been a corporal in the Spanish service and the son had an ambition to be a general, which was difficult to satisfy in time of peace. Alvarado desired control of the customs, and neither could attain the positions from Micheltorena. They decided to seek them by a new revolution.

A grievance was needed and it was found in the social condition of some of the soldiers in the Governor's command. Some of them had been taken from jails before enlistment and it was further charged that they were occasionally guilty of stealing chickens around Monterey when rations were short. It was decided by Castro and Alvarado that the public required the "cholos" or Mexican halfbreeds to be removed from the country, and they started an insurrection to attain the end.

Castro's experience as a military leader had been chiefly established by his capture of Graham and his fellow suspects. He had achieved it with a posse suddenly and noiselessly collected, and he repeated the process and collected a band of two or three hundred horsemen against Micheltorena's government. They demanded that the garrison should be sent away though they had no complaint against the Governor himself. After some parleying and skirmishing the insurgents retired to Los Angeles where they induced Pio Pico, a member of the Assembly, to join them and got several hundred men together, either

by persuasion or force. Two lives were, unfortunately, lost at Los Angeles, a rare occurrence in California revolutions. They occurred in a night attack upon the barracks at Los Angeles, where the Mexican soldiers offered resistance to the insurgents.

The Governor marched south with most of his soldiers to suppress the rebellion, but as his men were mostly infantry, his progress was slow, and the General, himself, was an invalid and traveled in a carriage. He was aided by Sutter and a party of riflemen from New Helvetia, who were drawn to service by large land grants. The rival forces came to battle at San Fernando.

Mr. Davis, as an eyewitness, tells the sequel: "When Alvarado and his troops left Los Angeles to meet Micheltorena, several foreigners who had joined his army accompanied, among them Alexander Bell, a leading merchant. He asked me to take charge of his store during his absence and in case he should meet a soldier's fate, to turn everything over to his widow. In leaving he gave me the key of his safe which, he said, contained considerable money. I felt a little nervous the first night as there were a good many doubtful characters about Los Angeles. I was not disturbed, however. Perhaps Alvarado had taken all this class along with him as part of his army. He had seven or eight hundred men, well mounted, but poorly armed.

"About nine o'clock on a clear morning, a day or two after, the first cannonade was heard in Los Angeles, we knew the battle had begun. As soon as the firing was heard all the people remaining in town rushed to the top of a high hill, directly towards the north. The scene on the hill was a remarkable one. Women and children with crosses in their hands kneeling and praying for the safety of their fathers, brothers, sons, husbands, lovers, cousins, that they might not be killed in battle, with tears streaming from their eyes and their hair blown about by the wind. I and others tried to pacify them, assuring them there was probably no danger. It was somewhat against

our convictions, from what we had heard of Micheltorena's disciplined force, his battery and the riflemen with him. The scene on the hill continued through the day, and the night was a gloomy one through the lamentations of women and children.

"The next day proved our assurances were correct as not a single person had been killed in this remarkable battle. The next day the strife ended. Micheltorena capitulated and agreed to leave the country with his troops, arms and followers."

The capitulation and the reasons for it given by the Mexican General were an absolute burlesque of warfare, as well as politics. The Governor declared he was quite able to destroy the rebels, but that he felt such action repugnant to his official duties. He had been sent, he said, to protect not to destroy the native Californians. He further claimed to have ordered his soldiers to fire over the heads of the enemy during the battle. Whatever his motives, his abdication, under such circumstances, ended all hope of settled government in California under the Mexican regime. It sealed also the fate of the mission Indians. Micheltorena's administration had lasted two and a half years. Before leaving he accommodated the late rebels by naming Castro, their leader, as Military Commandant during his own absence. After this he embarked with his command on an American vessel, the *Don Quixote*, chartered by Pio Pico, who as senior member of the assembly, became acting Governor in absence of the legal one. The latter, according to Mr. Davis, a fellow passenger, passed his time on board quite pleasantly playing chess with the skipper, a brother Mason.

Sutter had got an additional grant for his services to Micheltorena in the campaign. He went back to the Sacramento Valley and found that during his absence some cattle had been carried off by the Indians. He promptly went out and killed twenty-two, within three weeks of the bloodless revolution. His methods were less careful of human life than the Mexican Governor's.



## CHAPTER XXV

### THE FINAL CONFISCATION

Micheltorena was the third legitimate Governor driven from California since the beginning of secularization. The Californians had not known of public commotion before that time during the sixty years existence of the Spanish colony. Anarchy grew up simultaneously with confiscation of the native's property.

When the revolutionary party found themselves in possession of power, the assembly met at Los Angeles without any further election. It declared Pico acting Governor and Castro commander of the forces, until other nominations should be made by the Federal authorities. The assembly declared its loyalty to those authorities and elected Alvarado deputy to the Mexican Congress. It named an additional district judge and changed the capital from Monterey to Los Angeles. The measures seem small result for a revolution. After sometime the body adjourned, leaving on the minutes its reason for adjournment. It was to let the members go home and earn a living, as the treasury had no funds to pay salaries.

The Federal administration showed an indifference to its own authority scarcely less than the last Governor's. The President sent a commissioner to California who, on receiving protests of loyalty from Pico, recognized him as representative of the Mexican Government. The President issued him a legal appointment at the close of the year and it was received and published in Monterey in 1846 in the month of April. The Governor was ordered, at the same time, not to disturb in any way the order in the missions restored by his predecessor.

He and the assembly, however, had already begun the work of confiscation on their own authority, and they paid

no attention to either Congress or President in continuing it. There was, indeed, little to seize now in the way of moveable property, but the lands secured to the natives were coveted by some friends of the Governor.

Pico had been agent at San Luis Rey under Alvarado, and had helped himself in that capacity to part of its lands as well as its stock. He felt that though the few cattle now left the natives was hardly worth seizing, still some profit might be made by selling their lands. He sounded Father Duran on the subject, in the hope that he might give a sanction to his own designs through weariness of the uphill work of reorganization. He received an unfavorable answer. The old Franciscan was not ready to abandon his task. He declared the proposed sale a rank confiscation of native property. He further pointed out that the Indian population, some three thousand, was supporting itself and in some places improving its property and that there was a prospect, even if not a bright one, that under existing conditions, a remnant might be formed to citizenship and civilized life. The answer had no effect on the Governor or assembly. Within a month of Micheltorena's expulsion Pico ordered the mission managers to send in inventories of their assets and debts and forbade them to make any sales or purchases, or virtually to manage at all.

Duran a second time raised his voice in protest of the violation, alike of justice and the Mexican laws which the Governor had sworn to uphold. He urged that the lands where the natives were at work, at least, should be left undisturbed, and that the Governor, if he was determined to seize mission lands, should only lease them to other occupiers, and that, in places where the natives had already been scattered.

Pico and the assembly affected to take this protest as an approbation of their proposition. In June the latter body passed a resolution authorizing the acting Governor to sell by auction the lands of five missions, unless their

former inhabitants should return to their lands and begin work spontaneously within a month. San Francisco, San Rafael, Soledad, San Miguel and La Purissima were named for this final confiscation. They had more than three thousand inhabitants before secularization began, but were now declared deserted.

Pico had already shown his disposition towards Indians, generally, by a contract made with Messrs. Ganett and Marsh, two of the foreign riflemen, who had served with Micheltorena. The Governor bargained with them to form a police force against Indian raiders with the right to retain half whatever booty they might recover. They were given authority to kill any men who resisted, but were to reserve women and children prisoners for the disposal of government in involuntary servitude.

Four other missions were next doomed, Solano, Carmel, San Juan Bautista, and Capistrano. In these the Governor reserved the churches, residences and mission buildings, but ordered all other lands and property sold to pay the debts incurred by the lay mayordomos. If there was any balance over, the assembly ordered it turned over to the Church for support of public worship. The Church would also retain the buildings in use for that end, but the others might be used by the authorities at discretion. Pico suggested they might serve as courthouses in the future. No mention was made by the confiscation decree of the native owners. They were ignored completely.

The lately restored missions did not escape the confiscation, though in a somewhat modified shape. Their lands were to be only leased, not sold, to strangers, and a third of what rent they might bring was to be paid in annuities to the native owners. Another third was to be applied to support of public worship and the remainder to be taken by the state as taxation. Santa Barbara, the residence of the new Bishop, and of Father Duran, was exempted from taxation. Its rents were to be shared equally between the natives and support of the Church. The reasons

for this milder treatment of the missions under Franciscan management, may be traced to Father Duran's protest. It may also have been that the fact that they still supported a quarter of the settled population of California, made even the reckless politicians hesitate about turning them back to savage life, for the petty profits that were all that could be expected from seizure of their lands.



IN THE CLOISTERS OF CAPISTRANO

It is noticeable how the shares of the natives in their property were lessened at each stage of the secularization measures. Echeandia's first proposal was to allot the whole mission property among its rightful owners. The

first practical application, at Capistrano, limited the share of each emancipated native to a hundred vara lot in private ownership, with blankets and tools. At San Luis Obispo the only grant recorded was of a fifty vara lot, accompanied by two drinking troughs and a copper pot. Pico's decree gave no land, but allowed the native owners the privilege of residence on it, and working for the new occupiers if they so desired. The promised share in rents, of course, was purely a matter of form, as no provision was made for its distribution or registration of those entitled to shares.

The action of the Governor and assembly was as devoid of legality as of justice. The restoration of the mission lands was an act of Congress, above the jurisdiction of the territorial officials. Pico had not even a commission as Governor at the time, nor had the public in California been called to give their judgment on the late proceedings by any election. As in the first secularization attempted by Echeandia, so in the last confiscation by Pico the proceedings as soon as known to the Central Government, were declared null and void. The alienation of the mission lands, either by sale or lease, was positively forbidden, by decree of Congress in November, 1845. The ruin of the missions was the work of a reckless and ignorant handful among the Spanish Californians, not of either the people or general government.

Inventories were given at the final confiscation as at the first appointment of lay agents. Only a part have been saved, but they indicate clearly the continuous decay. Santa Cruz and Solano had no moveable property. San Francisco was in like case, but in addition was burdened with a debt contracted by its agent.

At Santa Clara, about a hundred and fifty Indians continued to work the vineyards and orchards and to raise grain in the fields. They had still a remnant of stock, two hundred horses, four hundred cattle, and eight hundred sheep. At San Rafael a couple of hundred natives still

dwelt near the mission, and its buildings and cattle were valued at nine thousand dollars. At San Antonio the buildings, vineyard, orchard, and sawmill, were valued at about the same amount, but the cattle was only represented by four horses and two yoke of oxen. The property had been valued at ninety thousand dollars when transferred to the government agents ten years before. Pico's commission reported only fifteen Indians living on the lands, but it looks as if they were inclined to see as few claimants to shares in the common property as possible. At Soledad, where Father Sarria had died of want, they only found twenty natives and the deserted buildings. These, with a square league of land attached, they valued at twenty-five hundred dollars.

The Channel Missions, Santa Barbara, San Buenaventura, and Santa Inez, had kept an Indian population all through the confiscation period. Orchards, vineyards and workshops continued to be worked by the natives. Santa Barbara was the best managed Spanish Californian town, and its ayuntamiento protected the mission against the lawlessness prevalent in other places. Father Jimeno had twenty-five hundred cattle, and as many sheep, at San Buenaventura. The buildings, property and cattle at Santa Inez were appraised at twenty thousand dollars, and those at Santa Barbara at twenty-five thousand. The Franciscans had striven, with some success, to restore these establishments. At San Luis Rey there were still four hundred Indians. San Bernardino and Pala settlements had disappeared but their Indians lived scattered in the mountains, where they practiced a little tillage. At the mission less than a thousand cattle and sheep remained of the sixty thousand it had owned under the management of Father Peyri.

Pico, on getting the inventories, was ordered by the Mexican authorities to take no further steps against the missions. He disobeyed, and in October, 1845, proclaimed the sale of five missions and four mission pueblos, Carmel,

San Juan Bautista, San Luis Obispo and Capistrano. The latter had been formed into a pueblo under Figueroa. Its natives were considered by him as high in intelligence and civilization as the white population. He made the mission village a pueblo under the same form as Los Angeles or San Jose. Town lots were assigned in full ownership to the heads of Indian families, and they were called to elect an ayuntamiento and alcalde from themselves to rule it. Unfortunately the large common property of cattle, tools and workshops was, at the same time, entrusted to government agents and rapidly melted away. The rival revolutionary parties lived at free quarters on them during Alvarado's rebellion. In 1840 Hartnell found only a hundred survivors of the emancipated Indian citizens at Capistrano. Pico's commissioners, five years later, reported only twenty-three.

San Luis Obispo had been made a pueblo with like formalities in 1843 by Micheltorena. His object, however, as stated by himself, was only to secure the remaining natives protection in possession of their cottages and the pueblo range of pasture. To these the pueblo organization gave them the same rights as the vecinos of Los Angeles or San Jose had to theirs. Pico treated the pueblo rights with as little regard as those of missions. He sold them without scruple on the 4th of December, 1845. The mission lands and buildings of La Purissima were sold by auction the same day. On the second day after, the acting Governor gave formal titles to the bidders, without even payment of any purchase money. The alleged buyers were foreign residents of Los Angeles who had given money or service to the revolt against the last Governor. and presumably these were all the consideration given. One James McKinley, who, according to Mr. Davis, negotiated the peculiar capitulation of Micheltorena, was declared owner of the whole pueblo and lands of Capistrano for a sum of seven hundred dollars and of San Luis Obispo for five hundred. John Forster was joined as his

partner in the first purchase and Scott Wilson in the second. La Purissima Mission and lands were transferred to John Temple of Los Angeles for eleven hundred dollars. In 1835, while occupied by the Indians under Father Moreno, the lands alone had been valued at seventeen thousand, and the whole property of the now ruined mission at sixty thousand dollars. The lands, now sold for seven hundred dollars at Capistrano, had maintained a thousand cultivators in comfort before secularization.

On the day following the auction of the two pueblos, Pico leased four of the missions just taken from the Franciscan management. San Fernando was rented for a yearly payment of eleven hundred dollars, Santa Inez for five hundred and eighty, Santa Barbara for twelve hundred and Buenaventura for sixteen hundred and eighty. These yearly rents sufficiently indicate the fraudulent character of the so-called sales of Capistrano and San Luis Obispo. The lessors were not accomplices in the late insurrection, but all either Spanish Californians or naturalized residents. The leases showed some lingering respect for the rights of the native occupants. They were to get titles to their houses and gardens, if they desired, and in any case were not to be evicted from them. They might, also, elect a council of four overseers in each mission among themselves as a police force. The cattle, tools and workshops, however, were taken without compensation and transferred to the lessors. The churches and buildings, alone, were reserved for the natives to use.

A month later Pico turned over the lands and buildings of Soledad to its agent for the nominal sum of eight hundred dollars. The mission, in the time of Father Tapis, had given food to seven hundred Indians and owned seven thousand cattle and ten thousand sheep. There were other memories around Soledad, the death of Governor Arrillaga there in the Franciscan habit in 1814, and that of Father Sarria, the last San Fernando Prefect, before Duran, twenty-one years later. Sarria fell at the



altar while beginning the celebration of mass for the few natives that clung around the mission after secularization. His death was brought on by the privations he had to face in his task at an advanced age, and was nearly the effect of hunger.

The other missions were put by Pico in charge of lay administrators. It seems that purchasers or renters were not to be found, as there was serious doubt of the right to transfer the mission properties in defiance of the Mexican law. At a later date deeds were shown in the American courts claiming to have been made by Pico in the last year of his rule. Most of them were not recognized as genuine, but the values named show, in a degree, what remained of the old missions. San Luis Rey, Father Peyri's great settlement, was sold for twenty-four hundred dollars, San Buenaventura for twelve thousand. San Rafael's lands sold for eight thousand, those of Santa Barbara and Santa Inez for a little over seven thousand each. Mission San Jose brought twelve thousand and San Fernando fourteen thousand. San Diego was deeded to a friend of Pico's "for past services to the government," and San Gabriel, once the queen of the missions, to Temple and Workman "for debt" merely. San Juan Bautista and San Miguel were transferred for a similar unspecified consideration. Governor Pico asserted that most of these sums were merely nominal and that none were actually paid into his own hands. They represented only claims for services rendered his administration, which he thought himself warranted to pay with the lands of the Indians.

Accepting those prices as an approximate valuation of the mission lands when cleared of their population, it can hardly have been over a hundred and fifty thousand dollars in 1845. Twelve years earlier the property of single missions had been much above that sum and that of all the missions nearly two millions. The difference represents the value to the community of native labor under intelligent and sympathetic direction. It indicates the

folly of the political rulers who ruined the mission system for sake of the immediate spoils to be drawn from its accumulations. Wealth and population alike perished under the new methods of civilization attempted first by Echeandia, and copied so eagerly by the youthful ignorance of the Californian politicians.

The lives of the remaining Spanish friars went out almost simultaneously with the destruction of the work to which they had been devoted. They were twenty-six when Echeandia began his attack on the missions and they received no colleagues after that. San Fernando College was crushed in Mexico. It had only half a dozen members in 1829, and by a strange coincidence its building was ruined by an earthquake the year of Pico's final confiscation in California. At the death of Figueroa there were sixteen of the San Fernando friars left in California to watch the results of secularization. There were only nine when the restoration was attempted by Micheltorena. Father Abella, the senior among the body, died the year before at the mission of La Purissima, where he depended for his food on the government agent's good will. Davis describes him as strong and active at eighty years of age, and Moffras mentions that he still spoke of crossing the mountains to begin a new mission among the Tulare savages. He had spent more than half a century in California having come there in the later years of the eighteenth century. Though he had been repeatedly described in the reports of his superiors as equal to any office, Father Abella remained a simple missionary all through his long life.

Father Ibarra died the same year at San Luis Rey. In spite of the disagreeable account of him given by Mr. Robinson, he was much loved by his Indians and generally regarded as an able administrator.

Father Duran had remained as Superior of the Spanish Franciscans all through the years of secularization from Echeandia to Pico. He had pleaded the cause of the

natives to the Mexican Government with marked ability after Victoria's expulsion, and he never relaxed his efforts to save the Indians from ruin through the succeeding years. He pleaded unsuccessfully for that with Alvarado when the latter revolted first, and again with Pico in 1845. He had been among the most successful of any Franciscans, except Peyri, in building up individually a mission settlement, that of San Jose, where he spent more than twenty years as administrator. He was threatened with expulsion by both Echeandia and Chico but neither ventured to put their threats into execution, and Duran's advice, even on political matters, was sought by Figueroa and other Californian Governors. Father Duran was nearly the same age as Junipero Serra at his death. His last appeal against the confiscation of the mission lands was made when he was nearly seventy and he passed away six months after the first sales were made. Narcisco Duran was the last Spanish Superior of California missions and he honorably closed the line which began with Junipero Serra and was continued through Lasuen, Tapis, Payeras, Senan and Sarria. He was a Catalan, like the first Archbishop of San Francisco.

Father Zalvidea and two other Spanish Franciscans, passed away the same year. Though, like Abella, Zalvidea never filled any office but that of missionary, he was widely known through California for talent and exemplary life. He was of Basque race and left writings both in that language and Spanish, and was also familiar with the Indian dialects. He always preached in the latter during his twenty years' administration of that establishment, which gained the name of queen of the missions under his intelligent management. Numerous traditions were current among the Spanish Californians of the personal holiness and austerity of Zalvidea. The discipline and iron belt of mediæval piety were used by him as by the English Chancellor, Sir Thomas More. Davis describes him as always mixing food at table in a single

mess and eating it slowly as a matter of personal mortification. He was regarded, generally, he adds, as a saint on earth and stories were common of his absorption in prayer, or his breviary, in the open fields. On these occasions he paid no attention to charges against him which were often made by wild steers or bulls, and the natives noticed that the animals never actually touched him. Father Zalvidea after the secularization of San Gabriel was transferred to San Luis, much broken in health. Though often urged to move to some place where he could have medical attention and the care of one of his colleagues he refused to leave the impoverished natives and died among them, a few weeks before the new purchasers from Pico came to seize the lands of Father Peyri's mission. Bancroft remarks of Zalvidea that "he seems never to have had an enemy or uttered an unkind word of any man." Such a character is rare in circumstances like those in which his last twelve years were passed.

Only two Spanish friars survived in California at the end of Mexican rule, Fathers Oliva and Blas Ordaz. The first died in 1848 and the last in 1850. The last was the only one to see California a State of the American Union. One survived of those who had actually founded missions there. Altimira, the founder of Solano Mission, was living in the Canary Islands in 1860, and there is no record of his death.

Two members of the San Fernando College, the brother priests Jimeno, survived Father Ordaz in California. They were of Mexican birth and the last missionaries sent to California by the old College. Their arrival was in 1827, and when the seminary was founded at Santa Inez, in 1844, they were charged with its direction. Father Joaquin Jimeno became Prefect of the remaining San Fernando friars on Father Duran's death. When the former mission of Santa Barbara was made a Franciscan convent or hospice, in 1852, Father Jimeno was appointed its Superior and continued so till his death in 1856. His

brother had broken down in health, and returned to his native land shortly afterwards. His College had been broken up and most of the Franciscan convents closed at the time by revolutionary administrations. The last survivor of the San Fernando missionaries to California was living in Mexico in 1871, blind and dependent for support on private charity.

The surviving Franciscans, it should be added, had filled a peculiar position in California since its erection into a diocese. Those in charge of missions depended still in all things on their College and Order. The others had to act as ordinary parish priests, with the understanding that their positions were only temporary, and to be resigned to secular successors as soon as these could be found. Bishop Diego, in fact, brought three students with him as beginnings for a secular clergy and established the seminary at Santa Inez for the same end. They were ordained in California before the last confiscation, and it may be noted one, Father Ambris, was of Indian race. He served many years in California until his death in 1880. Father Duran in his refusal to sanction the confiscation schemes had clearly declared that he and his colleagues could only undertake parochial work on account of the necessities of the Church, not their own. It must have been a specially sharp trial to him in the closing year of his life to see the missions destroyed and his College and home ruined at the same time. The lot of the last Franciscan missionaries was scarcely less hard than that of the Jesuits of the peninsula, when exile from their missions was joined to the destruction of their Order. Father Serra and his companions had that example of the probable rewards of missionary work when they began their share in it at San Diego, and Duran realized it as he lay down to die. La Perouse was right when he acknowledged that religion alone could furnish motives strong enough to make men devote themselves to the elevation and conversion of savages.

The first Bishop of California, like Father Duran, scarcely survived the last confiscation. Soledad Mission was sold in January, 1846, and the Bishop died in the old mission of Santa Barbara in April of the same year. He had come to California thirteen years before as Prefect of the Franciscans from Zacatecas College, sent at the request of the Mexican Republic to continue the work of Junipero Serra. The action of Figueroa removed them from its management within two years. When the Mexican authorities tried again to restore the interrupted work, Father Diego was appointed Bishop with high hopes and promises. They all came to nought, and the lawless act of Pico deprived the Indians of even a chance of existence. The Bishop sank under the stroke. Before dying he appointed Fathers Duran and Gonzales diocesan administrators till Rome could name a Bishop. Duran only survived two months, and Father Rubio Gonzales remained as head of the diocese until the coming of the next Bishop, the Spanish Dominican, Joseph Sadoc Alemany.

On the final sale of the missions three of the Mexican friars, Fathers Quijas, Muro and Gutierrez, returned to the College at Zacatecas. Father Mercado of Santa Clara was banished in 1845 by Pico on his own authority, as the Spanish Father Martinez had been by Echeandia. Five of the Zacatecas friars were all that remained with their Superior in 1846. Of them Father Anzar was placed as parish priest at San Juan Bautista and remained till his death there nine years later. Father Real was placed at San Jose, and Sanchez at Santa Inez, where he divided his work between the few remaining Indians and the seminary.

Father Gonzales after the coming of Bishop Alemany returned to the ranks of his Order. A community of its friars was formed at Santa Barbara and made a hospice in 1852, with Gonzales as its President. The Santa Barbara convent was for many years the sole representative in California of the Order of Francis of Assisi. Father

Gonzales prolonged life till 1875, and was thus the last survivor of the old Indian missionaries. He worthily closed the line that began with Junipero Serra.

A letter written by him eleven years before his death to a young missionary newly arrived may close the record of the Californian Franciscans. It helps to compare the sentiments of the last Franciscan missionary with those of the first:

“On my landing here on the 15th of January, 1833, there were twenty-one missions from San Diego to San Francisco Solano. All, even the poorest, were provided with everything for the support of divine worship and of the Indians, who numbered fourteen or fifteen thousand. Each mission, rather than a town, was a large community in which the missionary, as president, distributed equally the burdens and the benefits. The products of the harvests, cattle, and industries, were stored, managed and divided by the missionary. He was the procurator and defender of his Christians, and likewise their chief and judge, as mission Indians were not brought before the public authorities, except for grave offences. My mission was San Jose and I was promised that it would not be secularized, as it lay on the gentile frontier, but it, too, went down in 1836.”

“In the inventory of January, 1837, it was shown that San Jose Mission had thirteen hundred Christian Indians, a large tract of well cultivated lands, two orchards, one with sixteen hundred trees, two vineyards, one with over six thousand vines, granaries filled with grain, farm tools in plenty, carpenter and blacksmith shops, a tannery, and shoemaker's shop, and all appliances needed for working each.

“The fields were covered with stock, twenty thousand cattle, fifteen thousand sheep, four hundred and fifty-nine horses, sixteen hundred and thirty mares, six hundred colts, a hundred and thirty-nine yoke of oxen, thirty mules, eighteen burros, and seventy-seven hogs.

“The Christian Indians got new clothes twice each year, the usual cost being six thousand dollars. When the mission was secularized, I delivered to the mayordomo then in charge, about twenty thousand dollars’ worth of cloth and other articles in the storerooms. Thirty musicians served in the choir, and they had a very neat costume for festival days.”

The small proportion of hogs and donkeys in the mission stock is remarkable. The friars seemed to have no attraction towards either class. Father Gonzalez went on to tell his subsequent experience:

“The other northern missions, already secularized, were in bankruptcy, and the same may be said of those of the south. It was remarkable that everything was abundant as long as the missions were in the hands of the missionaries, but when they passed into the hands of laymen, everything went wrong till complete ruin succeeded and all was gone.

“Yet we should not say that the ambition of those men was the cause. Though the government in four years cut off seven ranches, the smallest seven thousand acres, for the benefit of private individuals from my mission lands, the mission continued to increase. We do not charge the destruction of the establishments to actual rapacity, though we may presume that some things were stolen. Mismanagement and excessive salaries to the administrators, and their assistants, were the chief agents of ruin. We must confess a manifest punishment from God the cause of destruction of the missions. Thefts alone would not have effected it, nor the cessation of the government subsidy. The missions would have prospered, if only left to the care of their priests, and new and larger establishments would have been formed in the Tulares, without either help from government or subsidy of the Pious Fund. The revolutions of 1808 in Spain, and of 1810 in Mexico ended the prosperity of the missions of California. Had missionaries been able to go to the savages between



the Coast Range and the Sierras they would all have been made Christians and not perished as we see they have done.

“In the pestilence of 1833 I collected about six hundred of those Indians, only a little relic of those tribes of the Tulares. I could have saved others in the epidemic of 1839, but I had no resources, as my mission had been already secularized. I could do nothing for the Indians, who are like grown up children. You can only attract them, at first, by gifts. Give them enough of food and clothes, and they soon come to like you. You can then lead them to religion, teach them civilized ways and form them to good manners and morals.”

The last sentence indicates the motives of the Franciscans, as missionaries, in taking a temporal administration apparently repugnant to the poverty vowed by themselves. It was not ownership for themselves, either as individuals or a community. Mission administration was strictly a stewardship, and unpaid at that; except by the salary allowed from the Pious Fund. The six hundred Indians from the Tulares, collected by Father Rubio, in the epidemic of 1833, do not find a place in the official registers of the missions. They show that the work of conversion was kept up even while the agents of government were driving the mission Indians back to barbarism. Deeds, not words, might be called the Franciscan motto.

The judgment of Father Gonzalez on the authors of secularization, when they had long passed from power and most of them from existence, is very Franciscan: “You ask who caused the ruin of the missions? As one who saw and suffered in it, I can only try to close my eyes that they may not see the evil done and my ears that they may not hear the endless wrongs endured. My poor converts, in their way, did all they could to lessen my grief.”

## CHAPTER XXVI

### THE SPANISH CALIFORNIANS

The mantle of charity so generously cast by the last missionary friar of California over the destroyers of its missions, should be extended, in fairness, to the Spanish Californian population. It was but a small section among them that shared in the work of destruction, and even in them, it was rather boyish ignorance and ambitions than passion that prompted their action. They had no hostility towards religion or the religious orders when they accepted Governor Echeandia's plausible scheme. Its folly is patent to those who see its results, but it might easily dazzle a people with as little experience of politics or society as the early Californian settlers. They did not note the inconsistency in his proposal to release the friars for further missionary work among the savages by emancipating their actual converts from their control, without any desire for such emancipation among those concerned. They regarded the florid eloquence of the Governor as the wisdom of modern political ideas, without thought of offending religion or morality by accepting it.

Secularization, as proposed to the young Californian assemblymen, offered nothing but benefits to every class. The Indians were to receive houses, farms, cattle, tools, common pasture, rights of citizens, a higher education and even free rations, with unknown advance in social well-being. All Spanish Californians and Mexicans might share the same gifts for the asking. Religious service was to be kept up with increased dignity. The churches were to be maintained and decorated. Presbyteries, servants and support were to be assured to any number of priests, and salaries of from seven hundred to a thousand dollars were to be paid them instead of the four

hundred secured by the Pious Fund. A chain of missions was to be founded in the Tulare Valley, on the Sacramento, and San Joaquin, and to the north of the Bay, and the hundred thousand savages of these districts enrolled among the civilized population of the territory. Manufactures, commerce and education, were to be all advanced by rapid bounds, under enlightened ideas. Schools for whites and Indians alike, to teach all children "reading, writing, arithmetic, the best morals and political knowledge," were to be opened at once in every mission settlement. A college was to be built at Monterey, and the most promising Indian pupils from every mission sent there to receive the highest modern education. The teachers in all those schools were to be liberally paid, and candidates for the positions were called to send in their applications, as soon as the secularization bill had been approved by the assembly. Mission agents and stewards would receive still larger salaries, as well as powers, and the Governor would select them, with the help of the assembly, for the twenty-one establishments. As the result of these reforms which involved so little sacrifice, the Governor confidently assured "the maintenance of the nation's integrity, peace and order at home, protection against foreign invasion, pay for the soldiers, support for the local government, and an immediate increase of the loyal population, by transforming the savages into intelligent citizens, through the labor of the missionary friars," who would be released for these higher duties by the appointment of government agents to take their place in the old missions.

The prospect offered was a dazzling one and it is not strange that the Californian assembly accepted the policy which promised it. The Spanish Californians, at the introduction of Mexican Republican methods, had neither knowledge of politics, nor experience in representative government. The Spanish Governors had been military commanders of the largest part of the men of the country,

as well as judges and general administrators, during the old regime. Knotty legal points might, at times, be referred to the Mexican courts, but in general practice a Governor represented the wisdom of the law as well as its authority. When counsel was needed by him he called his officers and the heads of the Franciscans to aid him with their advice. The introduction of an elective assembly was ordered by the Mexican Commissioner of Iturbide, not sought by the people itself. Fernandez impressed the importance of it as a matter of form rather than use. He even said that Indians would do as legislators if others were wanting, and suffrage, in fact, was given at first to the mission Indians. The first assemblies looked for instructions in their duties to the Mexican Governor, as they would look for training in military discipline under a new manual. In the first body the older and more experienced officers were chosen as a matter of course. Under the hostility to everything Spanish, which developed soon in Mexican politics, most of them were excluded from public functions soon afterwards. The assembly, under Echeandia's management, was made up altogether of young men without experience who received his ideas without question as rules of political action. This accounts for the ease with which he secured approbation of secularization, with little or no fears of its consequences among the Californians.

Echeandia's influence was further exerted in exciting his young Californian friends to the ways of revolution in politics. He instigated the first revolt against Victoria as a matter of private ambition, but he colored it with plausible assertions of public utility. The accident which crippled the legal Governor at a critical moment made the first revolt successful, and the practice of attacking the constituted authorities on any pretext was stamped with approbation by the first Governor. It helped to ruin the Spanish Californians as a political community as much as the secularization of the missions, to which,

indeed, it largely contributed. The mission Indians were the most defenceless as well as the largest class in the population, and the absence of authority in the government was felt most by them. In the confusion of bloodless quarrels between Zamorano and Echeandia, between Alvarado and Gutierrez, between Carillo, Alvarado, Vallejo, Castro and Pico, there was no time to consider further the confiscation policy once begun. The ruin of the missions was completed before it was realized by the Spanish Californians. They were not turbulent nor greedy above other men, nor were they swayed by hostility to religion in any way. They paid the penalty of thoughtlessness and inexperience, rather than malice, in the destruction of the missions, and with them of their own national existence.

There was little in the condition or character of the Spanish Californians to call for revolution when secularization was proposed. In no part of the world was there less discontent, less want or less oppression of any kind. Foreign visitors were struck by the ease of life in California, even when they criticized its people for unprogressive ways.

Sir George Simpson, who visited California in 1842, while describing its population, with national prejudice, as "drawn from the most indolent variety of an indolent species, being composed of superannuated troopers and retired office holders, and their descendants," and adding with British egotism, "In all but birthplace the colonists from Spain have continued true Spaniards," had to admit "Foreigners and natives cordially mingle together as members of one and the same harmonious family. Implicit obedience and profound respect are shown by children, even when grown up, towards their parents. A son, though the head of a family, never presumes to smoke or remain covered in the presence of his father. The virtue of hospitality knows no bounds. In a word, the Californians are a happy people, possessing the means of

physical pleasure to the full, and knowing no other kind of enjoyment."

The indolence attributed by the English baronet to the Spanish Californians was not, it should be said, physical laziness. It was rather the indifference to wealth which made them leave trade to foreign residents, while their own time was spent in the free life of herdsmen. He describes their love of horseback life, of the chase of the elk and grizzly with the riata, and their exploits in capturing wild horses, in terms that leave no room for ques-



SANTA CLARA IN 1850

tion on the point. The Spanish Californian life was, in fact, the strenuous field sports and pursuits of most English squires, with considerably more refinement of manners and less brutality. The physical pleasures alluded to were of this kind, and not the sensual indulgence usually understood by the phrase in English.

Simpson's judgment on the happiness of the old Californian life is borne out by most foreigners who have left their experience on record. Davis, whose residence in California dated from the mission days, and whose reminiscences were published more than forty years after the

American Conquest, declares, "The native Californians were about the happiest and most contented people I ever saw, as also were the early foreigners who settled among them and adopted their habits and customs." Their habits, too, were marked by the traditional Spanish sobriety in food and drink. Davis never knew a Spanish Californian to suffer from decay of the teeth, even in extreme old age. He never remembered seeing a bald head among any class, and even gray hair was rare. Both peculiarities were strange to him as a Bostonian. He could only account for the first by "their temperate habits and very simple mode of life," while the absence of gray hair was supposed by the Spanish Californians to come merely from "their quiet way of living and freedom from worry or anxiety." The longevity of all classes was as remarkable as the preservation of the faculties to an advanced age. The absence of medical practitioners, though showing a lack of scientific culture, seems to have had no ill effect on the general health. The administration of justice, also, according to Mr. Davis, was at least as equitable to all classes as in his native land, though the last Governor could not find enough of trained jurists to fill four district judgeships. The want of culture in this point was felt much by the progressive statesmen of the last Californian Junta, but the population was seemingly blind to its needs.

Though mostly children of soldiers, the Californians, after the separation from Spain, showed scarcely more inclination for military service than for the legal profession. In the Spanish time most of the young men joined the local companies as a matter of course, but the long cessation of pay under Sola took away most motives for keeping up the practice. The four companies of the old organization were still kept up under Mexico, but only in name. The native Californians did not care to enlist, and Micheltorena's battalion was the only contingent of Mexican soldiers sent to California. At Sonoma Lieutenant

Mariano Vallejo kept up a company on a military footing, but the others were little more than muster rolls. After Vallejo's appointment as Military Commander of California, when Alvarado was recognized as Governor, he attempted to restore the old discipline among the nominal soldiers. He tried the experiment at Santa Barbara, where Captain de la Guerra, the oldest of the former officers of Spain, still commanded. The Captain held a patriarchal rule over the town, most of its people having been his old soldiers. He had a fair number of young men on the military roll, but their attention to military duties was slight. Vallejo, as a trained officer, was shocked at the lack of arms and equipments, but especially at the easy familiarity between officers and enlisted men. The young reformer made heroic but unsuccessful attempts to restore military methods, in which the venerable post Captain only gave leisurely assistance. The whole command was made up of relatives, who could not be got to see the need of subordination. The reform methods of Vallejo filled the guardhouse with prisoners, but were not taken seriously by the sufferers. The young General was kept in occupation by the female relatives of the prisoners, many of them cousins of his own, who besieged him with appeals for mercy. A final exercise of authority was to put the old Captain under arrest for neglect of duty. The end came at a ball in de la Guerra's house in Santa Barbara, where the Military Commandant proclaimed full pardon for his unpaid relations. The incident explains the movements usually described as revolutions in California. The Californian legislators were like the Californian soldiers in this regard.

There was not much intellectual training among the Spanish Californians, though some, like Vallejo, showed literary tastes. Indeed schooling of a high kind could hardly exist in a community so remote from the rest of the world. Schools, however, were kept up in the pueblos and presidios, and the Spanish Governors, especially



Borica and Sola, had taken a lively interest in public education. Most of the families of officers were taught at home fairly well. Religious instruction, good manners and correct use of language were the cardinal points in the Spanish Californian ideas of early training. Reading, writing and arithmetic, though commonly taught, were not considered of equal importance in the education of children. Girls, according to old Spanish practice, were taught domestic duties with more care than literary culture. Indeed the opportunities for the last were limited, as books, outside the missions, were few, and mostly school manuals. The scarcity of writing paper may be judged from Sola's order at the time of Bouchard's descent on Monterey, to use all less valuable public documents for making cartridges! The copy books of the schoolboys were commonly used for the same purpose.

The Franciscans, besides their ordinary duties, gave instruction to some Californian boys of special brightness, and regular schools were kept in several missions. Father Ibanez, at Soledad, was noted for teaching the soldiers of the mission guard reading and writing. It was sought as a condition required for promotion from the ranks. Female education in homework was almost universal. Mr. Davis describes the Californian women "as domestic and industrious, even though the wealthier families had many Indian servants. They were proficient in sewing, making all clothing for their families and also did a good deal of needlework of fancy kinds." He adds that "the Californian women were brighter and quicker than the men and that their husbands often looked to them for advice in business affairs." Robinson, in 1833, though not partial to the Spanish Californian race, declared that "in few places of the world could there be found more chastity, industrious habits and correct deportment than among the women of San Jose," and he added that the observation might apply to the country generally. Davis confidently asserts his belief that the Californian women

of all classes, married or unmarried, were the most virtuous he had ever seen. Robinson attributed this high morality to the training given by the friars in religion to the young. Davis adds that the men were generally faithful husbands, though some immorality existed among the unmarried men. Early marriages were the general rule, and the large families of the Spanish Californians were remarked by every stranger.

Mr. Davis's sketches of domestic life in the California of old times are of interest in forming an accurate idea of its inhabitants. There were few trades or manufactures among them. The houses were of adobe, with tiled roofs and board floors, which in some of the vaquero's cottages were dispensed with. The carts were primitive, the wheels being made from sections of tree trunks, and were without springs and drawn by oxen. Carpenter or smith work was only practiced in the missions among the Indians. Neatness and cleanliness in the houses of all classes were carefully attended to. In holiday dress the Spanish Californians took much pride, like their ancestors in Europe. The Indians caught the taste, and on feast days all classes attended mass in gala attire, which seemed extravagant to strangers. The costume and horse trappings of a wealthy ranchero sometimes represented several thousand dollars. Davis notes that in nearly every house the beds and bedding were a matter of pride with even the humblest owners. The coverlets were tastefully embroidered and often of velvet or satin, trimmed with lace, however scanty the other furniture. The women had less ambition for rich dresses than the men, and even the rich used little jewelry. Cookery was regarded with more care than in most American communities at the time. The tables in all houses were well supplied with food, very unlike the pork and molasses and cornbread common among American frontiersmen. Broiled beef selected from the choice parts of the animal was the staple dish for Californians of every class, and

it was varied with enchiladas, tamales, chiles rellenos, and other dishes. Beans were as favorite a diet as in Boston, but there were few garden vegetables. The Californian method of slaughtering was admitted by American visitors to furnish better meat than New England butchers. Sobriety in the use of liquors was general. Dana notes "the Spaniards are very abstemious. I do not remember having ever seen a Spaniard intoxicated." The free use of rum and whisky, almost universal at the time in the United States, made the temperance of Spanish Californians more remarkable.

The author of "Two Years Before the Mast" showed a strong dislike for the Spanish race in general, which makes his occasional testimony in their favor more weighty. Anti-Catholic prejudices enter also into his expressed judgments, and must, in fairness, be allowed for. The spirit was very strong in New England at the time. It was little more than a year before Dana's visit to California when a Boston mob burned the Convent of St. Benedict. His views of the Californians are marked with the prevalent sentiment of the time in New England. Unlike Davis, he did not live among them and spoke Spanish very imperfectly. His experience in the country was chiefly handling hides for export, and the Californians he was most familiar with were the drivers of the bullock carts, and vaqueros. He writes of them as "an idle, thriftless people, who could make nothing for themselves." Their government "was an arbitrary democracy, having no common law and no judiciary, and their only laws made and unmade at the caprice of the legislature. The women had but little education and a good deal of beauty and *their morality, of course, was none of the best.*" The views of the Cambridge undergraduate cannot be suspected of undue partiality towards Spanish Californians.

It makes his remarks on their abstemiousness more remarkable. He further qualifies his assertion that the

Californian women had little morality by the acknowledgment that "instances of domestic infidelity were much less frequent than one would suppose at first." The impression made on Dana by the manners and language of the lower class of Californians is peculiar. "Next to their love of dress I was most struck with the fineness of voice and beauty of intonation of both sexes. Every common fellow, with slouched hat and soiled leather leggings, appeared to speak elegant Spanish. A common bullock driver on horseback delivering a message seemed to speak like an ambassador at an audience. They sometimes appeared to me a people on whom a curse had fallen, and stripped them of everything but their pride, their manners, and their voices." The point of the first remark is obscured by the next sentence, which added the writer never saw so much silver at one time in his life as during his visit to Monterey.

The hospitality of the "thrifless, idle race" is curiously illustrated by Dana's first experience at San Diego, on shore leave. Having got away from his associates, after several rounds of drinks, the young sailor and a companion got horses, rode to the mission, and saw a man show himself at one of its doors with a silver chain and bunch of keys. The sailors addressed him and were received with a bow and a courteous invitation to enter. Dana at once asked if there was anything to eat, and was assured there was. "He went out and returned in a few minutes with a couple of Indian boys carrying dishes and a decanter of wine. The dishes had baked meats, frijoles stewed with peppers, and onions, boiled eggs, and a kind of macaroni. These, with the wine, made the most sumptuous meal we ever had since we left Boston, and compared with the fare we had lived on seven months, it was a real banquet. After our meal we took out some money and asked how much we were to pay. He shook his head and crossed himself, saying it was charity—that the Lord gave it to us." The singular boorishness of the

sailor collegian's remark on his reception at the mission merits mention: "Knowing that this meant he did not sell, but was ready to take a present, we gave him some reales, which he pocketed with indifference, saying God reward you." The money was probably put in the poor box by the hospitable steward of the mission, whose indifference to it struck the donor as "admirable." The gift of good manners was certainly not one with which the subsequent judge was troubled, however common he found it among the Spanish Californians.

His comments on a Californian passenger from Monterey to Santa Barbara show the same: "Among the passengers was a young man who was the best representation of a decayed gentleman" that Dana had ever seen. "He had a slight and elegant figure, moved gracefully, spoke the best Castillian with a pleasant and refined accent and voice, and had throughout the bearing of a man of high birth and figure. Yet here he was with his passage given him (as I afterwards learned), for he had not the means of paying it, and living on the charity of our agent. He was polite to every one, spoke to the sailors and gave four reales, the last, I daresay, he had in his pocket, to the steward who waited on him. Don Juan Bandini had returned from Mexico, accomplished, poor and proud, without any office or occupation, to lead the life of most young men of the better families, dissolute and extravagant, when means are at hand, ambitious at heart and impotent in act, often pinched for bread, keeping up an appearance of style, when their poverty is known to every Indian boy."

Dana's contempt for the supposed poverty of the well-bred young Spaniard, who gave his last four-bits to the steward, while receiving a free passage from the "charity" of our agent, is characteristic of New England ideas at the time. The cheerful answer of the Mission mayordomo to the sailor's request for a free meal with "a hint at

wine," is characteristic of Spanish Californian sentiments.

An incident a few days later at Santa Barbara gave the future author a chance of seeing the social life of Spanish Californians and showed the sense of his scornful pity for the pinching want which he supposed the lot of a penniless man of education in California. It was the marriage of the ship agent in question to a daughter of Captain de la Guerra. The foreign sailors were welcomed to the wedding as a matter of course, but so, indeed, was the whole population. A huge tent was raised before the bride's house sufficient to hold several hundred persons. Dancing and music were kept up there for several days and "every one was expected to come without invitation." The supposed object of Dana's pity, Bandini, figured in leading the ball with the bride's sister. In spite of his contempt for the "thrifless race," the Harvard collegian was delighted with the grace of his manners and dancing. Dana and his comrades were treated with the greatest kindness and courteously asked to give an American sailor's dance, "but after the ridiculous figure some of our countrymen cut dancing, after the Spaniards, we thought it best to leave it to their imagination. Our agent, with a tight swallowtail coat, just imported from Boston, and a high stiff cravat, looking as if he had been pinned and skewered, took the floor after Bandini, and we thought they had enough of Yankee grace." On one point, at least, of social culture, the self-assertiveness of Boston owned itself inferior to the Spanish Californians. One wonders that their hospitality did not keep Mr. Dana from publishing his churlish comment.

Mr. Davis was likewise a Bostonian, but his long residence in California gave him a more favorable idea of its people than the author of "Two Years Before the Mast," apparently gathered from his experience in packing hides on the beach. In his reminiscences he declares frankly: "In my long intercourse with these people I

never knew an instance of incivility of any kind. They were always ready to answer a question in the politest manner, even the humblest, and in passing on the road the poorest vaquero would salute politely. If you wanted any favor of him, as delivering a message, he was ready to oblige and did it with an air of courtesy and grace and a freedom of manner that was very attractive. This kindness of manner was no affectation, but genuine goodness, inward and outward."

The writer's description of the Spanish Californian's treatment of strangers puts the boorishness of Dana at San Diego in an amusing light: "It was customary for travelers to stop at the missions as often and as long as they desired. It was expected as a matter of course, and if a traveler neglected to avail himself of this privilege, it would be looked on as an offence by the good Father. The traveler on reaching a mission would be met at the door or on the veranda by the Padre, who would greet him warmly and invite him in. He had the best the mission afforded at table, one of its best rooms to sleep in and everything done to make him at home and comfortable during his stay. At leaving he was furnished with a fresh horse and a vaquero sent with him to the next mission, where he received the same hospitality. The two sailors from the Pilgrim, riding to the mission and asking in bad Spanish "if there were anything to eat, with a hint at wine," as Judge Dana tells, bears out Davis in his story of mission hospitality.

The Californian rancheros in this, he tells us, followed the example of the friars. "The supercargoes of the trading vessels were used to land in one of the southern ports, we are told, and came up on horseback to Monterey or San Francisco, stopping at the missions or at some rancho, where they were always welcome, and were supplied with fresh horses, if they needed them, free of charge. They were furnished as a matter of course with entire freedom and hospitality by the rancheros or Padres.

Such a thing as continuing the journey on the horse he rode before was not to be thought of, so courteous were the generous Californians. The traveler had no further thought in regard to the horse he had been using. His host would send it back, or if that were not convenient, the owner would never ask any question concerning its safety or return. It would have been looked on as impoliteness for the guest to express any concern about the horse."

It was not alone to travelers that hospitality was extended. Dana was surprised to see at the marriage festivities in Santa Barbara the whole population attending as a matter of course. The custom was general on such occasions throughout Spanish California. Davis describes the party at the marriage of Don Jose Martinez, after whom the town is named, as lasting a week, during which dancing was kept up all night by at least a hundred visitors. About three hours after daylight were given to sleep, after which picnics in the woods were held during the forenoon, and the afternoons devoted to bull-fighting. The bridegroom displayed feats of horsemanship, such as picking coins from the ground at full gallop. The bull-fighting was merely exhibition of equestrian skill in avoiding collision with the animal or throwing him by a quick seizure of the tail. When one bull was worn out, another was brought to take his place, and the small boys on horseback chased away the first. The Californian amusements hardly merited the name of indolence. Davis remarks that the ladies astonished him by their endurance at dancing night after night on this and other occasions, while the men were often chafed for giving in before the party ended.

With much family and race pride, the old Californians had little spirit of caste. Dana's wonder at the dignity of manner of the "common fellows of bullock drivers," and his amusement at the aristocratic manners of the penniless Don Juan Bandini show the difference in this respect between the ideas of New England and California, seventy



years ago. Pride of wealth was little known in the latter. Few, even of the large ranch owners, kept much ready money. What any one had was freely at the service of his neighbors. The rancheros paid for what foreign goods they bought in hides or tallow, to be delivered after the annual slaughtering. All commercial transactions were made on honor alone. Davis tells of Captain de la Guerra, who had accumulated much money during thirty or forty years as post commander, showing him his wealth without suspicion. It was a quantity of gold coin stored in half a dozen of baskets in the attic of his house in Santa Barbara, and not even counted by the owner. Its existence was well known, and when any neighbors needed money they called on him for loans, which were repaid without interest at the next slaughter season. The word of the borrower was the only security offered or asked. The same practice prevailed with the foreign merchants, who monopolized the trade of the towns. Davis states that during his whole experience in San Francisco and Monterey he "never knew of a note being given by a Spanish Californian or a case of dishonesty on the part of one of them. They always kept their business engagements and paid them promptly, at the appointed time, in hides or tallow. They regarded their verbal promise as binding and sacred, and were always faithful in their engagements of every kind. They were too proud to stoop to anything mean or disgraceful."

Housebreaking or robbery appears to have been almost unknown in California of the old days. Captain de la Guerra's gold seems never to have attracted cupidity, though its existence must have been widely known. At the missions, the friars used to deposit any funds they might have on hand under the floors of their rooms, and only one case of theft is recorded. At Los Angeles in 1841 the murder of a German shoemaker and robbery of his money was followed by arrest, trial and execution of three Mexican culprits.

Dana's assertion that the Californians had no knowledge of courts or jurisprudence is contradicted by Mr. Davis, and indeed its absurdity speaks for itself. There were indeed no lawyers in the territory, except, perhaps, the superior judge, but courts existed in every village. Davis says their administration as a rule was honest and "tried to give everyone his due. The *alcaldes* usually were men of good strong commonsense, and many of them fairly well schooled." He adds that in his belief more substantial justice was done in their decisions, given on the spot after hearing both sides with their witnesses, than in most American courts of the present day. Under the Spanish governors in serious cases a military officer was named as prosecutor, and the accused could call any other as his counsel. The *alcalde's* office was treated with high respect. A cane with gold or silver top, adorned with tassels, was its badge and was carried on all occasions. An illustration of Californian habits is the fact that there was no such thing as a safe in any part of the country. Thefts from the public funds were all but unknown, though the customs' receipts at Monterey often amounted to over a hundred thousand dollars annually.

Hospitality was not limited to free entertainment of visitors. Land grants of from one to eleven Spanish leagues (forty-four hundred to forty-eight thousand acres) were freely made to foreign settlers without charge. Sutter's Sacramento Valley grant is an instance of the unsuspicious liberality of the Californian authorities in this respect. It was hardly well repaid by the grantor's statement to Davis on taking possession, that he intended to build a fort there and gather enough foreigners around him to defy any attempt of the government to enforce its laws over himself or his grant. The number of foreigners in California was scarcely fifty when the Spanish rule ended, and a little over three hundred when Alvarado expelled Governor Chico, yet strangers were trusted with not only land grants, but official positions. Dana's com-

ment on this liberality is typically narrow: "In every town on this coast there are foreigners engaged in trade, who keep shops, in which they retail the goods brought from the vessels, while I remember only two shops kept by natives. The people are naturally suspicious of foreigners, and they would not be allowed to remain were it not that they become Catholics, and by marrying natives they quiet suspicion, and even become popular and leading men. The alcaldes in Santa Barbara and Monterey were both Yankees by birth." The truth of the first part of the above is hardly warranted by the grant to Sutter and others like Workman, and Spence. To find evidence of a "naturally suspicious character" in trusting office to strangers is a remarkable decision in one who held the judicial office in his own land.

A couple of instances of the treatment given foreign immigrants, at a time when events in Texas might warrant suspicion in a less mistrustful people, may be mentioned. A party of thirty-two armed men from Missouri appeared at Sutter's Fort, a few days after the sudden occupation of Monterey by Commodore Jones. Several months before public orders had been issued forbidding foreigners to settle in California without passports from the Mexican authorities. The party in question, of which Mr. Bidwell was a member, arrived after a journey of much hardship, and nearly starved. They stopped a short time at the ranch of Dr. Marsh, an American who apparently had not acquired much of the "thrifless hospitality" of the native Californians. Bidwell, in his journey, describes him as "the meanest man in California. After the company had camped near his house about two days and there had been killed for them a small hog and a bullock, he began to complain of his poverty, saying they had been over a hundred dollars' expense to him, and he did not know if he would ever get a real for it or not. He had already got five times the value from the company, poor as it was, in powder, lead and knives. He then charged them three

dollars each to get them passports." The Doctor notified the sub-prefect at San Jose of the arrival of the newcomers and sent twenty of them to that town, where they were detained at the calabozo and maintained a week, until their case could be passed on by the Military Commandant. Vallejo took on himself the responsibility of granting passports rather than force the exhausted strangers to return the way they had come. It would be nearly equivalent to a death sentence, though called for by the laws. They were all allowed to settle in California in consequence.

Colonel Castro's action towards a body of destitute American newcomers in 1845 was equally humane, if scarcely in accordance with political prudence. War was then threatened between the United States and Mexico, and citizens of the former had been required to obtain passports before entering California. Castro, while Military Commander, found a large party who had come without the needed permits across the Rocky Mountains. They were worn out with the journey and incapable of resistance to Castro's forces. The immigrants pleaded that they were going to Oregon, that no actual war existed, to their knowledge, when leaving the States, and that to force them to cross the mountains in winter would be fatal. They promised to obey the laws of the country if allowed to remain and to leave it whenever required by the authorities. Castro, in spite of the danger of invasion, granted the whole body permission to remain in the Sonoma district. He did so, as he reported to the government "to reconcile his official duty with the distinctive hospitality of the Mexican people." Vallejo, at Sonoma, received the famished strangers with a different hospitality from that shown by Dr. Marsh to his own countrymen a few months earlier.

The absence of ferocity in the political struggles of the Spanish Californians is very remarkable. A single electoral contest in many an American town has often involved

more bloodshed than all the so-called revolutions in Spanish California. Three lives were taken in the revolt against Victoria, none in that against Gutierrez, and two in that against Micheltorena. The contest for the governorship between Alvarado and Carillo only involved the death of a couple of men at Los Angeles. No proscription followed any change of government. The fact is the more remarkable in a population of soldier origin. Cruelty and greed were conspicuously absent from the Spanish Californian character. The difference, in that respect, between them and most other European races was marked at the influx of the American trappers to the Sacramento Valley.

The little taste shown by the old Californians for hunting as a pastime is remarkable. It contrasts strongly with the habits of the English settlers everywhere, as well as with the French Canadians and the Boers of South Africa. They hunted the elk and grizzly as a matter of exercise rather than for the pleasure of killing, or the value of the animals hunted. Indeed, after the decay of the Spanish military organization, the Californians made little use of firearms for any purpose. For hunting or Indian warfare they preferred the riata and lance to the rifle. There was a marked flavor of the European Middle Ages around their whole life. Their love of bodily exercises, their little acquaintance with books or scientific knowledge, their high sense of personal dignity and courtesy, their personal honor in dealings, their freedom in sharing of their abundance with those in need, their indifference to commercial pursuits, their fondness for music and social enjoyments, and their strong faith and respect for religion, all are rather of the thirteenth than the nineteenth century. The content and kindly feelings which resulted may suggest, too, that modern life has lost, as well as gained, in the march of industrial and scientific progress.

The mission system, built up with self-sacrificing devo-

tion during sixty years, was also of the mediæval Catholic spirit. Serra, Lasuen, Catala, Zalvidea, Duran and Gonzales were more close in principles and ideals to Francis of Assisi and his companions or to Fray Las Casas and Betanzos than to the thoughts and methods of the eighteenth century. To them political government was a form of human action, to be regulated by the Christian law, like any other. The rule of expediency was secondary to the fixed principles of morality and the obligations of individual conscience. The frame of thought which made Duran and Sarria prefer exile to a violation, even nominal, of the obligation of allegiance to their nation's ruler, is strange to modern ideas. It was the same as that of Saint Louis of France in the thirteenth century, when he restored Guienne to the English monarch as a matter of conscience above political interests.

The scruples of the Franciscans on that point were certainly not shared by the young Spanish Californians, but their example helped to keep up the spirit of honesty in personal dealings, which marked them as a body. It would look as though a closer copying of the regard of the missionaries for the binding force of political engagements might have been the most profitable, as well as the most honorable course for the rest of the population. It certainly would have prevented the destruction of the missions.

## CHAPTER XXVII

### FREMONT AND THE BEAR FLAG

While Pico was dividing the mission lands by his last sale, events were occurring on the Rio Grande which were to deprive his countrymen of the government of their native land. Texas had seceded from the Mexican Republic several years before, and the Mexican authorities were as powerless to restrain the seceders there as they were the native revolutionists in California. The Texas seceders were mainly American settlers, and they sought admission to the American Union as a slave State. Negro slavery had been abolished in Mexico shortly after its separation from Spain, but it was restored in Texas by the secession. A treaty of annexation on these conditions was signed in 1844, but rejected by the Senate in Washington, as leading to hostilities with Mexico. Another treaty for annexation was framed the next year, a little after the Mexican garrison had been withdrawn from California by Micheltorena's capitulation. It passed the Senate, with an amendment requiring previous negotiations with Mexico to determine the boundaries of the seceded State. President Tyler did not wait for the required condition, and the annexation was completed without it. Polk, his successor, ordered American troops to occupy the territory disputed between Mexico and its former State, and a collision with the soldiers of Mexico followed early in 1846. President Polk, in consequence, declared war on the southern Republic. Its objects were said to be "to resist invasion, by the latter, to settle the boundaries between Mexico and Texas, and collect claims that American citizens might have against Mexico." The declaration of war was made at Washington about three weeks after the second sale of missions in California. It was not known

there until August of the same year, when Pico was already a fugitive.

The legal validity of the confiscation measures remained undecided by any competent tribunal, owing to the change of government in California that followed.

The change of government prevented any appeal to the Mexican courts on the rights of property attacked by Pico's arbitrary confiscation. Strange to say, its validity as a whole was not submitted, either, to the American courts afterwards. A Land Commission, many years afterwards, passed on several sales individually. It rejected six, on various technical grounds, and confirmed five. The title given by Pico's sales to the great missions of San Luis Rey and San Gabriel were finally brought before the Supreme Court of the United States in 1863. It declared them invalid in law, on the intelligible grounds that a Mexican territorial Governor had no right to confiscate property. No steps were taken by the Administration to have the same principle applied by the Land Commission to the missions already alienated, nor even to restore the illegally seized missions to their native owners. The Indian communities entitled to them still existed, but they had neither knowledge of American law nor money to pay for its application. The absence of any official protector of native rights, such as had been provided in the Spanish colonies by Charles V., was very noticeable in the final expropriation of the California mission Indians.

Father Duran had filled that office in California with unflagging zeal down to his deathbed. Pico and the assembly had tried in vain to get his assent to the sale of the mission lands a few months before. He emphatically refused any share in the "weighty responsibility before God and man," of a confiscation of the support of the poor converts. "The lands belonged to the Indians, not to the government," he declared, and to seize them was "a supreme wrong." He followed the arguments for confiscation up in detail, and laid special stress on the claims



of the natives, now old and feeble, whose labor had in other days built up the property which Pico now wished to seize, on the pretext that new owners would furnish work to the old proprietors. In May, 1845, he urged that the mission lands, if seized, should only be leased for a time, that the native owners might be able to recover them at least in the future. He added pathetically of his own efforts and those of the remaining friar protectors: "We are all growing old and there seems no possibility that our places will be filled by others when we are gone." Experience shows the truth of these words.

Duran at least did not relax his defence of native rights as long as breath remained in his old body. The following month he urged strongly the importance of choosing men of character as appraisers, if confiscation were carried out. In September he pleaded that at least their cottages and gardens should be secured to the natives still on the mission lands. The Governor tried unsuccessfully to get Father Duran to sanction his own application to the Mexican Treasury for control of the Pious Fund. Pico proposed, if he got it, to pay the alleged debts contracted by the mission agents and thus postpone for a while the threatened confiscation. Even this could not blind the Franciscan Superior to a measure of dishonesty. Justice, he answered, did not permit that funds given by private charity for the conversion and support of the Indians should be diverted to pay debts contracted for their own profit by Government officials.

The order to sell and lease the missions was issued a few weeks after this answer of Duran. The sales were continued during a prolonged period, and before the work was complete events came which threatened serious results for the confiscating Governor and assembly. Castro, in June, 1846, called a convention to provide for the general defence of the territory against foreign invasion. Prominent among those called to take part were the two Franciscan Superiors, Duran and Gonzalez. The latter de-

clined on the ground that "politics were no part of his duties." Father Duran's voice was hushed by death at Santa Barbara. His last act was to bequeath the arrears due him by the Mexican Treasury to the Indians of his mission. The arrears were the salary from the Pious Fund of four hundred dollars a year. With Narcisco Duran ended the line of Spanish "Protectors of the Indians." The office had been established by Cardinal Ximenes, and the first to hold it was Bartolome Las Casas, while yet a secular priest.

The convention to which Father Duran was thus called had been summoned on the action of an American officer, Captain Fremont, in the northern part of the territory. It was the beginning of the transfer of California from Mexico to the United States, and it came unexpectedly on the Californian authorities. Immigrants had been coming freely under Micheltorena, and were encouraged by him with land grants on condition of naturalization. In 1840 a census showed three hundred and eighty foreigners in California, many of them naturalized as its citizens. A larger number arrived during the next five years, and in Pico's time they numbered from seven to eight hundred. Many were trappers and hunters, but some families began to arrive after 1844, when the Stevens and Murphy party crossed the plains in the first wagon train. Most of the immigrants established themselves in the northern districts, where the Spanish population was scanty. They mixed, consequently, but little with the latter, unlike the older immigration by sea. Sutter's settlement at New Helvetia formed a kind of nucleus for the American immigrants in the north, while Vallejo's village and post at Sonoma was the center for the Spanish Californians. The post, however, was only a name after the insurrection against Micheltorena, as the company was disbanded.

The arrival of American immigrants began to cause some anxiety to the Spanish territorial authorities on the annexation of Texas. The Mexican administration

issued regulations against strangers entering California without passports, and Pico and Castro, after their confirmation in office, were strictly charged to carry them out. The execution, like other Government action in California, was carried out mildly. Castro, in the end of 1845, permitted a party of about a hundred to remain, notwithstanding the requirements of the law. He granted the exemption on the grounds of humanity and on the immigrants pledging themselves to leave whenever required, and meantime to obey the established laws and authorities of the territory.

A party of a different kind arrived a few weeks afterwards, and excited not unnatural alarm in the Californian officials. Captain Fremont, an engineer officer of the United States army, brought an armed party of sixty men on an exploring expedition, and entered California with them. Some of his men were Indians, and all under organization, though not regular soldiers. Fremont reached California at the close of 1845. He sent the main body of his party to camp on the Kern River, and himself with a few visited Sutter at New Helvetia. In the beginning of the next year he traveled with eight men to Monterey and called on the American Consul there. Manuel Castro, the district Prefect, inquired of the Consul why American soldiers should enter a strange country, and Fremont in reply stated his men were not soldiers but a surveying party, and that he had left most of them on the frontiers to recuperate before continuing his road to Oregon. Jose Castro, the Military Commandant of California, had an interview with Fremont at Monterey and made no objection to the party remaining whatever time they needed for rest. He desired only that they should remain in the San Joaquin Valley and not enter the more settled districts.

After this arrangement Fremont went to find his party on the Kern River, but did not find them there. They came in search of him to within a few miles of San Jose, where he finally joined them. Fremont did not think it

needed to give any notification to the Californian authorities of the transfer of his party from the San Joaquin, but led it in military order across the Santa Clara Valley and camped on the Alisal Ranch, not far from Santa Cruz. His party was stronger than any organized military force in California at the time, and naturally excited some fears. Fremont's conduct on the way did not tend to allay them. Near San Jose a Californian, who claimed that some of his horses had been stolen by Fremont's men, was summarily ordered to leave. A remonstrance from the alcalde of San Jose was treated with studied contempt by the foreign officer. He stated carelessly that all the horses in his party had been bought, except a few captured from Indians, and added in regard to the ranchero's complaint: "The insult of which Peralta complains was authorized by myself, and consisted in his being ordered to leave camp. He should have been well satisfied to escape without a severe flogging. Any further communications on the subject will not, therefore, receive attention. You will readily understand that my duties will not permit me to visit your towns on the complaint of every straggling vagabond who may visit my camp. I would beg you to inclose a copy of this note to his Excellency the Governor."

A message of this kind from an officer of a foreign army could not be passed by the Californian authorities unless they were ready to resign any control in their country. On the fifth of March, Castro, as Military Commandant for Mexico, sent a notice to Fremont to withdraw his men without delay from his jurisdiction. The Prefect of the Monterey department sent a similar order in the name of the civil authorities. It ran: "I have learned with much regret, that in defiance of the laws of the Mexican Republic, you have entered the department under my charge with an armed force, on a commission which your own Government can only have given you, for surveying within its own territory. The Government of

this department therefore requires you, on receipt of this communication, to retire with your men beyond the bounds of this department; otherwise it will use the measures needed to make you respect its determination."

The two orders were also communicated to Mr. Larkin, the American consul at Monterey, with the expressed hope that he would require compliance with them. Their justice could only be disputed on the ground that international rights were merely a question of force. Captain Fremont took that view. He scorned even a written reply to the Californian Commandant, and told the officer who brought the notice that he would not obey it. The next day he moved his camp to the Gavilan Pass, which he fortified, and raised the American flag on Mexican soil. It was a virtual declaration of war, on the authority of a captain's commission.

Castro called the militia and volunteers to drive out the invaders of their country. Consul Larkin wrote to Fremont, telling him that Castro would soon have two hundred men to attack him, and that the result either way would cause trouble for resident Americans. He added that if it were inconvenient for Fremont to leave, he thought permission could be got to remain at a distance from the towns, if asked in a proper manner. The Consul did not further offer any advice to his belligerent countryman. "It is not for me to point out to you your line of conduct," he wrote with humility. The Captain sent back a pencil answer: "I am making myself as strong as possible, in the intention that, if we are unjustifiably attacked, we will fight to extremity, and refuse quarter, trusting our country to avenge our death."

Fremont, however, did not find it necessary to remain, "to refuse quarter," but moved with his party to Sutter's fort, as desired by Castro's order. The Californian Commandant then disbanded his posse as needless. The raising of the flag at the Gavilan Pass was not unlike the campaign of Micheltorena. Fremont wrote of it to his

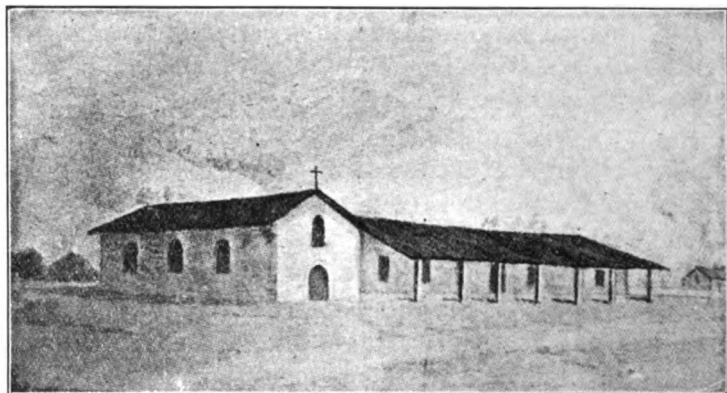
wife, and Castro published a proclamation in Monterey. The Captain's letter announced: "My sense of duty did not permit me to fight them, but we retired, slowly and growlingly, before a force of three or four hundred, with three pieces of artillery." The Californian Commandant the same day informed the public of his view: "Citizens: A party of marauders, who entered the country in defiance of its laws and authorities, under Captain J. C. Fremont, has slighted the orders of this military department and of the Prefect of this second district, to leave our territory at once. Its commander sent word that he was prepared to resist any force the lawful authorities might send against him. The measures taken by this command resulted in his quitting the camp he had taken up, when he saw two hundred patriots arrayed against him."

Fremont's original purpose was to go to Oregon, and he started for that destination from New Helvetia after the bloodless demonstration on the Gavilan. On his way he is said to have killed about one hundred Californian Indians near Lassen's Ranch at the request of some American settlers. His party reached Klamath Lake in May and there he was overtaken by Lieutenant Gillespie with private instructions from Washington. An attack by the Klamath Indians followed and was avenged by an extensive slaughter of the natives. Fremont then changed his plans and brought his party back to Sutter's Fort in the Sacramento Valley.

The news of his return spread among the foreign settlers, and on the ninth of June, while Fremont was camped near the Buttes, a party of them seized a band of horses belonging to the Californian Government, which was being taken through the Sacramento Valley from Sonoma to Monterey by a militia officer. The drivers were captured while sleeping, but not otherwise molested, and when the booty was secured they were let go. Lieutenant Arce, the chief of the party, reported the occurrence to Castro as an attack of horse-thieves, instigated by Captain Fremont.

Larkin, as American Consul, offered his help to Castro to recover the stolen animals as soon as the act was told in Monterey. The raiders meantime drove the stolen animals to the Captain's camp, where they were received without scruple.

That done, the party, which counted about a dozen, decided to give their exploit a political color. They gathered a score or more of others and descended on the village of Sonoma on the fourteenth of June at daybreak. It had been a military station, but was then deserted as such. Vallejo, the former Military Commandant, had taken no



SONOMA MISSION

part in the revolt against Micheltorena, and when it ended had disbanded his men and stored their arms. The revolution which made Pico Governor, had left California absolutely without means of defence against either foreign invasion or domestic disorder. Pico himself when in office recognized the danger and petitioned the Mexican President to send a regiment to replace that which had been removed by Micheltorena. It was never sent, and the Californian revolutionists had to learn the result of the revolt to themselves by experience.

When the horses were stolen, there was not a soldier in Sonoma, except Colonel Vallejo and his brother, who held

commissions. The Colonel's house was surrounded before daybreak, he was aroused by the noise, met the mob and asked who was their leader. That was hard to tell, but three or four went into the house and explained that they were not thieves, but acting under orders of Fremont as an American army officer. They drew up documents by which the Colonel promised not to bear arms against them, on condition that the captors would not disturb private property nor molest the peaceful residents of Sonoma. It would appear that no interference with the liberty of the Californian Colonel was first intended, but a quarrel arose between members of the mob, some of whom had stolen enough liquor to be drunk. They elected a Captain, Grigsby, while their representatives were discussing with Vallejo and likewise growing tipsy at his expense. Some were anxious to plunder the houses of the Spanish residents on general principles, and Grigsby, after his election, decided not to serve as Captain. A successor was next chosen in William Ide, a carpenter, who had come to California late in the year before, and was one of the party that Castro had allowed to remain, "as a matter of humanity."

Ide had then pledged himself to obey the laws and leave California peacefully if required by its authorities. He summed his reasons for breaking his word in an address to his companions, in which he frankly stated: "We are robbers, or we must be conquerors." He sent the Vallejos and their brother-in-law, Mr. Leese, who was visiting them, prisoners to Fremont's camp. The American Captain assured Colonel Vallejo that he had no hand in his seizure; but he declined to release him or the other captives. He gave as his reason that they were prisoners of "the people driven to revolt for self-protection." He took the further strange step of sending them prisoners, under a guard of his own men, to Sutter at New Helvetia, to be kept in prison there. Sutter was a naturalized Mexican citizen and an official of the Californian administra-



tion; but he made no scruple about holding his neighbors prisoners at the request of a foreign officer. Oaths and pledges seem to have been even more easily disregarded by the new revolutionists than they had been by the Californian malcontents in their domestic squabbles. There was a further element of meanness in their treatment of Colonel Vallejo, in the fact that he had supported some of his captors when in want during the winter before. Fremont showed his own confidence in Sutter, as well as the value of his repudiation of a share in the capture, by placing a guard of his own men over the prisoners in New Helvetia.

After sending Vallejo as prisoner to Fremont's charge, Ide and the remainder of his party set about the task of giving a political character to their action. The method was original. A piece of cotton cloth was ornamented with some strips of red flannel, the figure of a bear rudely daubed and the words California Republic written below. This was hoisted on a pole by the twenty-four who made up the party, in the belief that a flag of any kind would change their character to patriots, from housebreakers and horsethieves under the laws of the country. Mr. Ide could write, though his spelling was somewhat peculiar, and in three hours he drew up a proclamation on the model of those of Alvarado and Castro, but in English.

It ran: "The Commander-in-Chief of the troops assembled at the fortress of Sonoma solemnly declares his object to be: First, to defend himself and his companions in arms, who were invited to this country by a promise of lands on which to settle, who were also promised a republican government, who, instead, were oppressed by a military despotism; who were even threatened, by proclamation from the chief officer of the aforesaid despotism, with extermination if they would not depart from the country, leaving all their property, their arms and beasts of burden, and thus deprived of the means of flight or defence, we were to be driven through deserts inhabited by

hostile Indians, to certain death. To overthrow a government which has seized on the property of the missions for its individual aggrandisement, which has ruined and shamefully oppressed the laboring people of California by their enormous exactions on goods imported into the country, is the determined purpose of the brave men who are associated under his command. He also solemnly declares his object to be to invite all peaceable and good citizens of California, and I do hereby invite them, to repair, without delay, to my camp at Sonoma, to assist us in establishing and perpetuating a republican government, which shall secure to all civil and religious liberty; which shall detect and punish crime; which shall encourage industry, virtue and literature; which shall leave unshackled by fetters commerce, manufactures and mechanism. He further declares that he believes that a government to be prosperous and happifying (ameliorating) must originate with its people, who are friendly to its existence; that its citizens are its guardians, its officers, its servants, and its glory their reward!!!

“William B. Ide, Commander.”

The intelligence, as well as the truthfulness, of the Bear Flag revolutionists may be guessed at from this remarkable proclamation, which has been only curtailed by the omission of paragraphs setting forth the writer's belief in the justice of his cause, his hopes of success, and his assurance of protection to all persons in California not found under arms. The truth of the charges against the Californian authorities may be estimated when it is remembered that the writer was one who had been allowed to remain in California a few months earlier on motives of humanity, though his entrance was contrary to the existing laws. The proclamation of threatened extermination had no existence, except in the writer's imagination, no more than the invitation to settle on the promise of a republican government, other than that existing. The document, at length, with the numerous

bombastic additions made later to its sections, may be found in the notes to Mr. Bancroft's seventh chapter, Vol. V., of History of California.

Mr. Ide's rule as Commander only lasted ten days. He was suspected of insanity, and likewise of being a Mormon, by his companions in arms, and he had some difficulty in keeping the latter from general plunder of the town, in spite of his pledges of protection. Captain Fremont arrived at Sonoma on the twenty-fifth of June, and was at once accepted as Commander by the garrison, though Ide continued to fill the office of post commander till the Fourth of July, when a new organization was made, and Fremont, though a commissioned officer of the United States, named its Commander by the revolutionary body. The Bear Flag insurgents and Fremont's scouts were formed into a force, named the California Battalion, of about two hundred and fifty, in three companies. The late Commander found a place in one as a full private. Fifty men were left at Sonoma, and Fremont with the rest marched to Sutter's Fort, to begin a campaign against Castro and impose the newly formed Government on the Spanish Californian population by force of arms.

In the meantime, Castro, now Military Commandant, but without soldiers to command, called for volunteers to restore order at Sonoma. About a hundred and fifty gathered without arms, except lances and a few old Spanish muskets. Castro sent a company of sixty under Lieutenant Torre to occupy Sonoma and drive out the raiders. They met a party of them at the Olompali Ranch, and after a skirmish, in which one of Torre's men was killed and some wounded, Torre retreated. The trappers opposed to him also went back to Sonoma, where they found Fremont in command, vice Ide. Two of the revolutionists had been killed while traveling through the country to find ammunition for the new republic, and Captain Fremont declared their death, murder on the part of the Californian Government. He led a hundred and

thirty men at once after Torre to avenge it. Torre felt it useless to await attack and rode with his men to Sausalito, whence he and his men crossed by boat to San Pablo, and finally joined Castro at Santa Clara. There was no fighting, further than the skirmish at Olompali, to the north of the Bay.

Fremont failed to find any armed force, but at Point San Pedro a boat was seen to land three native Californians from San Pablo. One was the father of the alcalde of Sonoma, the others, two brothers, by name de Haro, and sons of a former alcalde of San Francisco. They were all three unarmed. Kit Carson, a scout in Fremont's service, rode forward by his orders with three men, and shot down the three from a distance of fifty yards. The bodies were stripped and left on the ground as a practical illustration of Ide's promises of protection to peaceful natives. The action of Fremont was afterwards defended in the United States Senate by his father-in-law, Benton. The Senator claimed the murder was justified by the fact that two Americans had been killed by Spanish Californians previously. It was precisely the morality of the savages on the Western plains at the time.

Fremont's next exploit was to cross the Bay from Sausalito, in the boat of the American ship *Moscow*, and spike ten abandoned cannon at the old San Francisco presidio. He also seized the captain of the port, Mr. Ridley, and took him prisoner to New Helvetia. On reaching it he heard that Commodore Sloat had taken possession of Monterey, though no notice of war between Mexico and the United States had been received. Fremont, at New Helvetia, promptly hoisted the American flag and ended his connection with the so-called Republic of California, after sixteen days' service under the Bear Flag. It left a debt against the United States. Captain Phelps of the *Moscow* sent a claim for the services of his ship's boat in rowing Captain Fremont and twenty men from Sausalito to San Francisco to damage the old guns there. It was fif-

teen thousand dollars. Congress admitted the abstract justice of the Captain's claim for helping in such an object, but reduced its money value to fifty dollars.

Castro, after the return of Torre from his expedition against Sonoma, sent his brother to Los Angeles to warn Pico of the danger and urge him to call for volunteers to resist Fremont's invasion. The country was without troops of any kind, in consequence of the departure of Micheltorena's battalion, and it was further in a state of uncertainty as to who had the right even to call out volunteers. Castro was the Federal commandant and Pico claimed to be chief of the territorial militia. He was jealous of Castro, besides, and even thought the Bear Flag incident only a plot to give him more influence. When at last he was convinced that it was a foreign invasion he found it hard to communicate his belief to the population. The Spanish Californians had grown apathetic to official appeals to their patriotism, after the experience of the last twelve years. Pico was only able to gather a hundred recruits at Santa Barbara, and even the assembly did not meet when called there. He and Castro joined forces on the twelfth of July at Santa Margarita, and there they received the further news of the seizure of Monterey by Sloat. Pico and Castro decided to retire to Los Angeles and concert measures there with the assembly. Its members came together and voted an organization of the militia, but Pico could do little to that end except issue proclamations. The territory had been stripped of arms and ammunition as well as of soldiers by the last revolution.

While Pico was trying, with little success, to find arms at Los Angeles, he received news that Commodore Stockton, with four hundred marines and sailors of the United States regular forces, was advancing on the town. There was no tidings of any war between the Mexican and American Governments, and Castro sent his adjutant, Captain Flores, to Stockton to ask an explanation, and de-

mand a halt of his force. Stockton had taken the step on his own discretion and had no information of any declaration of war. He answered the ambassador by the strange statement that he only invaded California because it was a department of Mexico, and that consequently he would only negotiate at all on condition of the Californian local authorities at once "declaring their independence and hoisting the United States flag." As Pico would not accept this rather contradictory proposition, the Commodore with his forces entered Los Angeles without resistance on the thirteenth of August. A few days afterwards he learned for the first time that war existed between the United States and Mexico. He promptly declared California a portion of the former and promised it, on his own authority, a territorial form of government at an early date. Meanwhile he settled matters by declaring the whole country under martial law, and naming his friend Fremont its military Governor. Gillespie was made Governor of Los Angeles with fifty men, mostly Fremont's adventurers, as a garrison and police force. Pico and Castro felt themselves incapable of resistance and left, with strange incapacity, for Mexico. The Commodore ended his bloodless conquest by a striking proclamation summing up the causes and purposes of his campaign against Castro:

"The Mexican Government has for a year past, without cause, been threatening the United States with hostilities. General Castro has violated every principle of international law, by hunting and pursuing, with several hundred soldiers, and with wicked intent, Captain Fremont of the United States army, who came here to refresh his men, about forty in number, on a scientific survey. For these repeated outrages, possession has been ordered to be taken of Monterey and San Francisco, until redress could be obtained from the Mexican Government. I find myself in possession of these ports, with daily reports from the interior of rapine, blood and murder. Three inoffensive

American residents have, within a few days, been murdered in the most brutal manner, and there are no Californian judges who will arrest and bring the murderers to justice. I must adopt such measures as may seem best calculated to bring these criminals to justice, and to bestow peace and good order on the country. I am constrained, however, in the first place by every principle of national honor, to put an end at once and by force to the lawless depredations daily committed by General Castro's men on the persons and property of peaceful inhabitants. I will immediately march against those boasting and abusive chiefs, who have not only violated every principle of national hospitality and good faith towards Captain Fremont, but who will, unless driven out, keep this beautiful country, with the aid of the hostile Indians, in a constant state of revolution and blood, as well as against all others who may be found in arms, or aiding or abetting General Castro. The present general of the forces of California is a usurper, has been guilty of great offences, has drained the country almost of its last dollar, and has deserted his post now when most needed. He has deluded and deceived the people of California and they wish his expulsion. He came into power by rebellion and force, and by force he must be expelled."

Having hurled this denunciation after the wicked fugitives, Stockton returned to his ship and sailed for Monterey. Fremont also went north to recruit men in the Sacramento Valley. The Bear Flag Revolt was definitely closed.

## CHAPTER XXVIII

### THE AMERICAN OCCUPATION

The Bear Flag Revolt and Fremont's share in it were only acts of private adventurers, like Walker's filibustering expedition to Nicaragua. The action of Sloat and Stockton in invading the territory of a peaceful republic without orders from their own government needs some further explanation. Neither was even aware that war had been declared on Mexico, when they seized Monterey and Los Angeles. They both knew, however, that the pro-slavery administration at home was anxious to get possession of California as a likely field for the enlargement of the slave States. Texas had just been annexed as one, although slavery had been previously abolished in Mexico. The action of the Washington authorities towards Commodore Jones for seizing Monterey, in 1842, was a sufficient warning to all naval officers of the dispositions of the Government of President Polk as well as his predecessor. Sloat simply followed the example of Jones, and Stockton's further action was stimulated by Fremont and possibly by Larkin, the American Consul at Monterey.

The latter had been secretly commissioned as an agent to bring about the secession of California from Mexico a couple of years earlier. Secretary Buchanan informed him, in veiled language, of the nature of the duties he was expected to perform for a salary of six dollars daily, outside his Consular functions. Mr. Buchanan assumed gratuitously that the native Californians were in revolt against the Mexican authorities to whom Larkin was credited. He wrote before the annexation of Texas had given any cause for war between the Republics. "In the contest between Mexico and California we can take no part, but, should California assert and maintain her independence,



we shall render her all the kind offices in our power as a sister republic. While the President will make no effort and use no influence to induce the Californians to become one of the free and independent States of the Union, yet, if the people should desire to unite their destiny with ours, they would be received as brethren, whenever this can be done without affording Mexico any just cause of complaint."

The Consul's appreciation of the last expression was shown by his choice of a secret assistant in preparing the way of secession. It fell upon a Mexican official, Don Abel Stearns, a native of New England, but long naturalized in Mexico and bound by oath to support its Government. Mr. Stearns was sub-prefect for San Diego when Larkin confidentially offered him the appointment. "You are aware," Mr. Larkin wrote, "that I have been for some time in public employ without remuneration, and so cannot offer you any. I cannot even promise that my offer holds out future inducements to you or your interests, but I believe that both may be advanced at some day not far distant. Therefore the end may justify the means in the result."

The sub-Prefect accepted the offer without scruples, in spite of his oath of allegiance. The Consul did not think it fit to mention the salary allowed himself, and probably considered himself bound in honor to conceal it.

Mr. Larkin, as Consul, took no part in Fremont's aggression at Gavilan Pass, but he kept him informed of the movements of the authorities against him. He also helped Gillespie to reach him, under an assumed character, with private instructions from Washington, and the Captain returned after getting them and joined his forces to the insurgents of the Bear Flag.

Commodore Sloat had also received "secret and confidential" instructions before the annexation of Texas or prospect of war. George Bancroft, the historian, was Secretary of the Navy in 1845 and in June of that year, he wrote private orders to the commander of the Pacific

squadron. Annexation of Texas had been declared desirable by Congress, but only on condition that its limits should first be amicably settled with Mexico. Polk and his cabinet were decided to ignore the last condition and hoped their action would induce the Mexican Republic to declare war, in spite of its inability to contend with the United States. Secretary Bancroft wrote to Sloat: "The Mexican ports on the Pacific are said to be open and defenceless. If you ascertain with certainty that Mexico has declared war, you will at once possess yourself of San Francisco, and blockade or occupy such other ports as your force may permit. Yet you will be careful to preserve the most friendly relations with the inhabitants, and will encourage them to a course of neutrality." Later dispatches, fearing Mexico might not declare war, substituted for the first condition, the terms "in the event of war" and lastly "in the event of actual hostilities." The latter, of course, meant any chance collision between Mexican and American troops. The administration wished to be sure of the coveted territory on any pretext.

Later instructions, after war was declared, were sent to the naval officer, but did not reach in time to affect his operations. The seizure of Monterey was made under the orders issued in time of peace. The American squadron of eight vessels and over two hundred guns was ample to occupy every port of California, as far as force was concerned. There were rumors of war, but no more until May. The Portsmouth was sent to San Francisco in April, to be ready to occupy it at the first news of hostilities. Surgeon Wood was sent to Washington shortly after with dispatches, to be taken through Mexico, and he learned for the first time at Guadalajara that hostilities had begun. He continued his journey without interference and sent the news by express to Sloat at Mazatlan. The Commodore at once sent the sloop Cyane to Monterey with a confidential letter to Larkin telling that he would soon arrive with his squadron and consult with him on the steps

to be best taken under his instructions. He charged him, in case any notice should reach California of the hostilities on the Rio Grande, "to make as light of it as possible, saying it had been a mere skirmish between reconnoitering parties." Economy of truth was marked in the dealings of both Commodore and Consul with the Spanish Californians.

The former, however, showed some hesitation in beginning hostilities on his own responsibility without the certainty of war mentioned in his first instructions. He wrote to Secretary Bancroft to that effect, stating his purpose of sailing at once to California, but "avoiding any act of aggression." His scruples were rewarded with a sharp reprimand at a later date from the historian-secretary, who could not understand why a hint of the department's wishes was not enough to make any American naval officer commit aggression when it was only a question of seizing defenceless ports. Sloat was relieved of his command in consequence.

Other news had, in the meantime, induced the Commodore to change his mind. He reached Monterey in the Savannah on the second day of July, where two other naval vessels were already at anchor. He wrote to Larkin asking if there was any objection to landing his men for twenty-four hours, and intimating they had money to spend. He made a friendly call on the Californian authorities who received him with the usual courtesy. After a conference with Larkin, the Commodore, on the morning of the seventh of July, sent Captain Mervine ashore with a formal demand for the surrender of the town, and all troops, arms and public property. The Commandant, an invalid Captain of artillery, urbanely answered he had no authority to surrender the port, and that there were neither troops or arms to surrender. He referred the Commodore for further particulars to Castro, the military head of California. Sloat landed two hundred and fifty men who marched to the custom house and raised the

American flag. Proclamations were posted up, two officers named as justices, and a summons to surrender, with invitation to a conference, sent to General Castro. The change of flag in the old Californian capital was as bloodless as the expulsion of the last two Mexican Governors.

Sloat's proclamation was as florid and as reckless of facts as any Mexican pronunciamiento. He boldly announced the existence of war between the two nations, and incidentally, if untruly, that it had been begun by Mexico's invasion of United States territory. He was consequently about to carry the American flag through California and with a confidence that contrasted strangely with his former scruples, he added that henceforth California would be a portion of the United States "with the same rights and privileges as the citizens of any other portion of that territory, with all the rights and privileges its inhabitants now enjoy, and the same protection will be extended to them as to any other State in the Union." The Commodore seems to have considered the power of admitting new States into the Union and fixing permanent boundaries between it and Mexico, as part of his powers as a Naval Commander.

The document further promised security of lands, property, and office to the existing officials, and predicted an increase of real estate values, commerce, and general prosperity as the sure result of the new regime for every one in California. The flag was raised with equal ease at San Francisco by the crew of the Portsmouth, at Sonoma and Sutter's Fort by Fremont's men, and at Sausalito and Bodega by individuals. A company of mounted marines was sent to San Juan, Castro's headquarters, and met Fremont there with his new battalion. The whole body marched thence to Monterey, where the appearance of the frontier trappers, dressed in buckskin, and many of them Indians, armed with rifles, revolvers and bowie knives, gave a new idea of Americans to the townspeople, who looked at them with alarm through the rejas.

Fremont asked to have his motley followers at once enlisted as a whole in the United States army. Sloat declined, as he doubted both his own authority for such a step, and the character of the proffered recruits. His authority, however, only lasted three weeks, as orders from the Secretary of the Navy relieved him of command on the 23d of July. He named Commodore Stockton, his successor, commander of all warlike operations in California, and sailed for home before the close of the month. There was no news of war at the time.

Stockton was less scrupulous than Sloat and promptly mustered Fremont's scouts and recruits into the army of the United States, and gave their commander a commission as major. Fremont was away in the south, and the commission was sent after him when Stockton sailed to begin his march on Los Angeles, which caused the flight of Governor Pico. On getting news of the existence of war there, Stockton planned an enterprise which would make his conquest of California appear insignificant. He empowered Fremont to recruit a thousand riflemen from the American settlers already in California and the trappers of the Sierras. With these and the marines and sailors who could be spared from the Pacific squadron, Stockton felt confident he could surpass the deeds of Cortez and conquer the whole Mexican Republic. He would land at Acapulco, cross the mountains and enter the capital of Montezuma as a conqueror. The Commodore disregarded the difficulties said to exist in the barrancas on the road. A force of marines had already been mounted in actual service in the expedition against San Juan, and they had shown their capacity to ride. Stockton felt his sailors could be trusted to serve in the same manner. The project was certainly a daring one, but Major Fremont encouraged it and was confident of its success. California needed little to keep it quiet in Stockton's judgment. A couple of naval vessels could destroy any of the coast towns in case of trouble and Gillespie's garrison at Los

Angeles was believed ample to hold down the Californians, in the absence of firearms among them. Purser Watmough, with some marines, was made Military Commander at San Jose and thus both the inland pueblos seemed secured.

With visions of Mexican conquests, like those planned by Aaron Burr, before his eye, the Naval Commander had no hesitation in turning over California to his subordinate. Fremont was named military Governor of California, in virtue of Stockton's commission to carry on warlike operations, and he was ordered to gather recruits at New Helvetia for the great expedition, as well as to maintain his own rule. On arriving in the Sacramento Valley he found conditions favorable for recruiting. A settler had murdered an Indian belonging to one of the northern tribes, and his friends threatened a general attack to avenge it. Many of the settlers were uneasy at the prospect and they accepted Fremont's liberal offer of twenty-five dollars a month for military service readily. The tide of immigration gave more recruits. The pay offered by the Major was double that provided by the United States law for its enlisted men, but Fremont's title of Governor was accepted as ample guarantee for its payment. No questions were asked of the recruits, and they asked few in return except the amount of pay. Fremont enlisted some Walla Walla Indians and Canadian trappers as American soldiers.

For a time there seemed good prospect that the invading force desired by Stockton might soon be raised.

Vallejo and his brother had been released before the Major's return to New Helvetia. They went back to Sonoma and found the General's property had been appropriated by the American invaders, as thoroughly as its owner had the cattle of the mission of Solano, twelve years earlier. A thousand cattle and six hundred horses had thus gone. Vallejo had occasion to reflect on the result of

the revolutions in which he had taken part himself in behalf of secularization.

Stockton, after visiting Monterey, sailed to San Francisco to concert the details of the proposed invasion of Mexico with Fremont. The provincial capital was quiet, and Purser Watmough at San Jose, had killed some Indians as ladrones, so it was quiet also. The Commodore reached San Francisco on the fifth of October. The conquest of California had been rapid and bloodless beyond anticipation.

At San Francisco, however, he received news which threatened to cross his purpose of conquering Mexico. A rebellion had broken out at Los Angeles. Lieutenant Gillespie's talents for administration were not equal to his success as a secret agent. He multiplied police orders of a vexatious kind, and the training, and ignorance of his new soldiers were not such as to secure general good will. Searches for arms were frequently made in private houses; all meetings, even of a social nature, were forbidden and Californians were not allowed to collect on the streets in numbers beyond three. The trappers, as police officers, arrested at discretion, and confiscated cattle and horses as freely around Los Angeles as they had done at Sonoma. Some former officers of the militia and Mexican army who had accepted Stockton's rule, were threatened with arrest, like Vallejo.

In consequence of these discontents a party made a demonstration against the barrack a week after Stockton's departure. They were easily driven off, and the next day a wholesale arrest of suspects was attempted. Most of the young men left the town, held a meeting and chose Flores, a captain in the Mexican army, as their commander. They framed a proclamation and called all native sons of California to unite and overthrow the oppressive foreign rule, as they styled the administration of Gillespie.

They began operations by attacking a party of twenty

soldiers at the Chino ranch on the 25th of September. One of the Californians was killed, but they succeeded in making prisoners of the twenty Americans. They next entered Los Angeles and besieged Gillespie and his men in the barracks, with a demand for surrender. Matters were in this condition when the dispatches were sent which reached Stockton at San Francisco.

The gallant sailor was much irritated. The rising threatened to postpone his expedition to Acapulco indefinitely, even if not a serious danger in itself. Stockton delivered a speech in passionate language to the public at San Francisco. He denounced the Californians as "cowardly assassins," and stated that "if one hair of the brave men he had left to garrison the south should be injured, he would wade knee deep in blood" to avenge it. He did not wait for the effect of this threat, but sent Fremont with his command to Los Angeles and sailed himself the same day for San Pedro.

Gillespie, in the meantime, had accepted terms of capitulation like Micheltorena. He and his men were to march with their arms and cannon to San Pedro and embark there, after first giving up the cannon to the Californian commander. Gillespie broke the guns before delivering them as agreed. He was much incensed at the action of Flores, the Mexican officer, who, he claimed, had broken faith by taking arms after he had been allowed to remain in Los Angeles on parole. Flores, on his side, claimed that any engagement he had made had been cancelled by Gillespie's action in making arrests at discretion. The garrisons at Santa Barbara and San Diego were also attacked but escaped the need of capitulation by retiring to the ships near.

The insurgents had full control of the country for the time, but had a deficiency in arms, except lances. They had about a hundred muskets of old type, and a four-pound gun used for firing salutes, but there was little ammunition for either. The manufacture of powder was



begun at San Gabriel, but the product was not very effective.

Captain Mervine, of the naval service, undertook to recapture Los Angeles, after the arrival of Gillespie. He landed three hundred and fifty marines and sailors at San Pedro, and with Gillespie's men, began a march on the city. Flores had less than half the number, but they were all horsemen, and he had taken the precaution to round up all the horses in the district and drive them to the interior. The invading army found much difficulty in dragging their guns by hand, and the Californians harassed them by sudden charges which made the naval officers think their numbers larger than they really were. Near the ranch of Dominguez, Flores found chance for an attack and even used his solitary cannon with some effect. Several sailors were killed and wounded without any loss to the Californians. Mervine decided to return to San Pedro and wait for Stockton.

Flores profitted by the retreat to call the California assembly, most of whose members were near. That body met on the last day of October, and followed the precedent of former movements by electing Flores Governor of California. As Pico had left the territory the act was within their legal powers, and it gave Flores a national importance. Stockton reached San Pedro meanwhile, and, on hearing Gillespie, published his determination to grant no quarter to Flores, when captured. The war threatened to take on an exceptionally bitter character, in the last contingency. The Commodore also expressed his disgust at the new Governor for describing Mervine's retreat as a Californian victory. He pronounced that proclamation "the usual want of veracity of the enemy, in regarding a transient success as a great victory." His own action in consequence was taken, as told in his dispatches. "I determined to land in the face of their boasting insolence, and again hoist the glorious Stars and Stripes, in the presence of their horse covered hills."

Stockton, accordingly, landed a strong body and encamped near the beach at San Pedro. He expected Fremont's speedy arrival, as he had ordered, at Santa Barbara, but the Major instead had gone to Monterey to recruit there for his command. The Californian horsemen followed their usual practice of making sudden charges on the invading force until Stockton's officers and men were "worn out by chasing and skirmishing," fortunately without loss of life. The imagination of the sailors magnified the number of the enemy to over eight hundred, which was equal to the whole force under Stockton's command. They were not really much over a hundred, but the Mexican Captain made them appear and disappear with bewildering rapidity. The Commodore decided the march to Los Angeles too risky under the circumstances. The anchorage at San Pedro was further insecure, especially at the season, and after some days in the presence of the horse-covered hills, Stockton re-embarked his men and sailed to San Diego to begin his campaign as soon as Fremont's force could join him.

At San Diego he was confronted with the same guerilla resistance as at San Pedro and got news from Fremont at Monterey. A month was passed unpleasantly, with a raid into Lower California after cattle as the chief diversion. A messenger came in the beginning of December from General Stephen Kearny, who was advancing with a body of dragoons from New Mexico, and Gillespie was sent with fifty men to meet him. Flores, meantime, was trying to manufacture powder at San Gabriel, and proposed, when a sufficient supply was ready, to take two hundred men to San Diego. Captain Pico, with about half that number, was sent to cut off a party of Americans said to be in the neighborhood of Santa Isabel. His party was located by Kearny's scouts near the Indian village of San Pascual, and Kearny with his dragoons and Gillespie's men, about a hundred and sixty in all, with three guns, attacked them there early in the morning of the sixth of December.

The result was disastrous to the assailants in spite of the primitive weapons of the Californian horsemen. The dragoons charged in full gallop, and Pico's men rode on until they were scattered, and then suddenly turned and charged with their lances. Eighteen of Kearny's force were killed and as many wounded in a hand to hand fight of sabres and muskets against the Californian lancers. Kearny, himself, and Gillespie were among the wounded. One of the howitzers was captured, by the mules attached to it running away. The Californians retired after half an hour's action under fire of the artillery, but the next day they appeared again and kept the whole force besieged until a body of two hundred came to their aid from San Diego. Pico then drew off and retired to Los Angeles. He showed no military skill, but the encounter gave the invaders a different idea of the Californians as an enemy in the field from that entertained before.

Kearny, with his men, marched to San Diego where some time was spent attending to the wounded before an advance was made. The American force numbered six hundred, and the Californians confined their hostilities to cutting off supplies and occasional demonstrations along the road. Flores, with about five hundred men and two pieces of artillery, made a fight at the crossing of the San Gabriel in which two of Stockton's men were killed and eight wounded. The poor quality of the Californian home-made powder accounted for the small loss, and their own was about the same. Two days later Flores again attacked at long range but only succeeded in wounding five men. Stockton had refused to treat with Flores on the march, alleging he had broken parole and would be shot as a rebel if captured. He thought well, however, to issue a general amnesty to all other Californians before the fight at Rio San Gabriel. After the second action, a flag of truce was sent from Los Angeles and protection was promised to its people. Stockton entered the town on the tenth, and the next day issued a proclamation in his usual style congratu-

lating the officers and men "on the brilliant victories obtained by them over the enemy." "We have rescued the country from the hands of the insurgents," he wrote to Secretary Bancroft.

Fremont, at Monterey, had meantime been recruiting his battalion from every available source. Twenty-five dollars a month and free quarters attracted a number of the newly arrived immigrants. Indians were enlisted as scouts and to garrison Sutter's Fort. Sutter recruited a company of Walla Wallas and another of reformed Californian horse thieves, and the battalion of all nationalities was raised to four hundred and twenty-eight. Fremont started with them on the 17th of November to aid in conquering Southern California.

There had been an uprising in the north in the meantime, and Manuel Castro, the late Prefect, took command under Flores as Governor. He had his headquarters at San Luis Obispo at about the time Fremont reached Monterey and recruited about a hundred volunteers, with whom he started to harass the battalion on its way south. A collision took place at Natividad on the 15th of November, between a party of his men and an equal number of the battalion under Burroughs, a new immigrant, who had raised a company. Burroughs and four others were killed and several wounded and the survivors retired to a ranch near and entrenched themselves. Castro did not follow up his attack and the next day Fremont continued his march to Los Angeles.

There was no resistance on the way to San Luis Obispo which they reached in a month. Travel was slow, owing to the wet season. Some Californians were arrested and one Indian shot as a spy, to please the frontiersmen, who also burned a ranch house at Ojitos. The invaders felt the natives had no rights they were bound to respect, and some of them were mutinous under military rule. The town of San Luis was assaulted by night, and captured without difficulty, as there were only women and children

left in it. Pico, the former commandant, was captured at the ranch of an American settler by the information of another. Fremont decided that he had broken parole and sent him before a tribunal of officers of the battalion, who promptly sentenced him to be shot. The zeal of the newly made soldiers for strict military law is the more remarkable in view of the readiness with which many of them had broken their own pledges to remain submissive to the Californian authorities. It also contrasts with Captain Gillespie's breach of his agreement at Los Angeles. Pico, however, was not executed. His wife and fourteen children appealed pitifully for mercy and Fremont granted a pardon, much, it is said, to the discontent of his patriotic followers. Pico was used as an agent to win over his countrymen after this somewhat theatrical pardon.

From San Luis the battalion resumed its march after four days, and crossed the Santa Inez Range on Christmas Day. The terrors of the passage were afterwards utilized for comparison with Napoleon's crossing of the Alps, but no lives were lost. Santa Barbara was entered with as little opposition as San Luis Obispo, most of the young men having gone to Los Angeles. Fremont gave his soldiers a week's rest and then advanced slowly. A party of Californians interchanged shots without hurt at San Buenaventura, but these were the only hostilities until the invaders arrived at San Fernando the day after Stockton had entered Los Angeles.

The Californian patriots were growing tired of the campaign after the second occupation of Los Angeles. They began to realize the impossibility of conquering a force of a thousand disciplined troops without firearms or ammunition on their own side. The old spirit of faction also developed against Flores as a Mexican, and he retired before it like Micheltorena. He nominated Andres Pico, a relative of the runaway, as his successor. His brother, Jesus Pico, was the man whom Fremont had threatened with execution and afterwards released. He

repaid the pardon by visiting the Californian camp and inducing its leaders to come to terms with Fremont rather than Stockton. It was certainly a peculiar proceeding for a subordinate to form a treaty, within a day's journey of his military superior, but it suited well with Fremont's ultimate objects. A treaty was accordingly drawn up for the restoration of peace, and settling the future rights of the inhabitants of the country, on the thirteenth of January, at the Cahuenga Ranch, and signed by Pico for the Californians and Fremont for the United States. The Californians surrendered two pieces of artillery, one the howitzer captured from General Kearny. They also added six army muskets which formed part of the public property. In consideration of this transfer Major Fremont solemnly guaranteed the Spanish Californians, generally, equal rights with American citizens and protection for life and property. It was further put in that none were to be asked to take any oath of allegiance as a condition of citizen's rights, and that any who wanted to leave the country might do so. A question, which might endanger future friendly relations, on the subject of broken pledges, was finally settled by the treaty. All paroles or engagements given by either Californians or Americans up to the date of the treaty were to be counted null and void. It relieved Lieutenant Gillespie from the charge of having broken faith at San Pedro, and also Governor Flores of the counter charge of parole breaking, for which Stockton had promised to shoot him when captured.

Flores, as legal Mexican Governor, gave his assent to the treaty and Stockton, as American commander-in-chief, did the same three days later. The Californians went back to their ranchos after returning Kearny's howitzer in better shape than Gillespie had left his at San Pedro. Fremont's command swept away whatever horses and cattle yet belonged to the San Fernando Mission without question. Protection of property was not extended to

missions by either side. Father Ordaz certified to this act of plunder at the request of the lessee, who then represented, in a remote way, the Indian owners. It was hoped that compensation might be made at some future day by the United States Government.

The Cahuenga treaty ended all active resistance of the Spanish Californians to the American conquest. It had been preceded by a like agreement near San Mateo. After Fremont's departure for Los Angeles, the garrisons at San Francisco, San Jose and other places, considered themselves entitled to take cattle at discretion from the Spanish Californian ranchos and the owners objected. A body of them seized Mr. Bartlett, who had been named alcalde of San Francisco by Stockton, while he was collecting cattle without payment near San Mateo, in December. The discontented element collected to the number of about a hundred and chose a ranchero named Sanchez as their captain. They stated their object to be "not to war against the American flag but to protect themselves against depredations of men plundering under its color." Captain Marston was sent against them with a body of marines and a field gun. In an engagement near Santa Clara two of the marines were wounded and the cannon discharged several times. In the evening Senor Sanchez offered to surrender his prisoners, if the American authorities would stop the practice of plundering. A treaty was made on this basis on the eighth of January and Bartlett set free.

Captain Mervine at San Francisco celebrated the close of this northern campaign, which happily was not accompanied by loss of life, in a proclamation, which was published in a new American paper, the *Monterey Californian* on February sixth: "Mervine to the army. It is a novel instance in the history of California that her unrivalled cavalry were obliged to surrender, and lay down their arms, in consequence of their being so effectually entrapped as to deprive them of their usual alternative, and

render escape impossible. Special thanks to the Volunteers and Captain Smith."

It is a curious fact that to Captain Mervine fell the honor of the last proclamation in the conquest of California. There were no further hostilities after the Treaty of Cahuenga and it does not appear that either Stockton or Fremont issued one to commemorate it.

There were reasons, though not of a war character, for this reticence. A difficulty arose as to who was really the Governor of California after the campaign and the treaty which ended it. Legal and military claims were curiously blended and even the Spanish Californians, though representing the defeated side, had candidates. Pico was undoubtedly the legal Governor of the territory under Mexican law, and Flores had a constitutional right as acting Governor under the same. The status of the country had to be settled by treaty between the Federal administrations of the United States and Mexico, and both were too far off for immediate appeal. Governor Flores retired gracefully to his native country and Pico, after some attempt to issue land grants under Mexican law, also gave up his claims. The struggle for the office was more energetic among the American claimants and needs further explanation.

Stockton, as commander of the first invading force, which was a naval one, assumed as a matter of course his right to regulate the government of California at his own discretion. In virtue of that supposed right, he had named Fremont military Governor before the struggle with Flores. While that campaign was going on, General Kearny arrived with a small force in California. He not only outranked Stockton in the service, but also had formal instructions from the President to settle the form of government for California, in case he should either conquer it himself or find it occupied by American troops on his coming. The General arrived during the campaign



against Los Angeles, and did not think it well to interfere with Stockton's authority while fighting continued.

After the Treaty of Cahuenga he claimed command, under the President's orders, and Stockton refused to accept them. He alleged as grounds for his disobedience that he had already formed a government on his own authority which it would be wrong to disturb. General Kearny, though superior in rank, had no direct authority over the naval forces, which formed most of the army of occupation. He called on Fremont, as an army officer, to receive his orders, but the latter refused, on the peculiar contention that he drew his authority not from the military but from the naval authority. General Kearny had to content himself with reporting the disobedience to orders of both Stockton and Fremont to the President. Stockton also wrote, describing his own exploits and urging the removal of his superior officer "to prevent the evil consequences that may grow out of such a temper and such a head." Without waiting for the President's answer, he named Fremont, on the 16th of January, civil as well as military Governor of California. He also named a Secretary of State, and even a legislature for the territory. The Commodore's ideas of his own powers were seemingly boundless during war time.

Kearny, before any further instructions from Washington, received reinforcement to his power. A battalion of Mormon volunteers, under Colonel Cooke, arrived overland, and made the employment of marines on shore needless. At nearly the same time Stockton's own authority was ended, by instructions from the Secretary of the Navy to turn the command of the Pacific squadron over to Commodore Shubrick, who brought them to San Diego. Stockton had to obey, but Fremont, who had issued a proclamation as Governor, already, was inclined to hold on to office. Stockton's removal was not caused by his dispute with Kearny, but rather oddly, by his supposed scrupulosity in waiting for a declaration of war before beginning

hostilities. He had stated his intention to follow such a course in his earlier dispatches, though he had not followed it in fact. Secretary Bancroft punished his supposed unwillingness to seize California ports, without positive instructions to that effect, by a recall. It only came into effect when Stockton had occupied Los Angeles for a second time, after first seizing every town in California without any knowledge of an actual war. The comedy of errors, unmingled by moral considerations, was peculiar, and bore hard on Stockton, among others. Colonel Cook, of the Mormon corps summed up the order established by the conquest six weeks after Cahuenga, in terse language: "General Kearny is supreme somewhere up the Coast, Colonel Fremont supreme at Los Angeles, Stockton is commander-in-chief at San Diego, Shubrick, the same at Monterey, and I at San Luis Rey, the government having no money and no credit, and we hold the territory because Mexico is poorest of all."

It was not strictly accurate to say the provisional government had no credit as far as Fremont's part in it at least. He raised some loans during his tenure of office under Stockton's appointment. They ran at from two to three per cent, monthly, and the United States was afterwards asked to pay them at those rates of interest. One from a Mr. F. Huttman for fifteen thousand dollars actually advanced was certified to as nineteen thousand five hundred, in the drafts on the treasury, issued by Major Fremont as Governor. They were issued after he had been ordered to leave Los Angeles by his superior officer. The drafts were not recognized by the treasury, and the Pathfinder was subsequently arrested in London for the amount with interest, which had grown to forty-eight thousand dollars. According to Bancroft, from whom these particulars are taken, the original loan was not applied to public uses by the so-called Governor. He also purchased, for similar purposes, a band of six hundred cattle, which was transferred to his own profit. A bill was

brought into Congress in 1854 to pay the debts of Major Fremont during his seven weeks of office as Governor.

His rule in Los Angeles only lasted that time. General Kearny, after Stockton's recall, met Commodore Shubrick who at once recognized his authority as Governor. Colonel Mason also arrived with fresh and positive orders from the President naming Kearny Governor of California with full powers, both civil and military. In case of his death or absence the office was to be filled by the senior military officer in the country. The General published his appointment on the first day of March, 1847, and Shubrick countersigned the announcement.

Governor Kearny's first act of office was to order the extinction of the Bear Flag command. Fremont was ordered to muster them in at regular rates of pay, to march the whole body to Monterey, and there discharge all who desired to leave the service. Cooke was named Commandant at Los Angeles, and Fremont directed to deliver to him all public documents in his possession. He evaded compliance for some time, on the pretext that his men refused to serve at the rates proposed, and he was afraid to discharge them while there were rumors of war. He came to Monterey on the twenty-fifth of March, and stated his case to General Kearny who promptly ordered him either to muster in or discharge the refractory command.

Colonel Mason was sent to Los Angeles to enforce compliance. The battalion refused to obey Colonel Cooke and tried to pick quarrels with his men, but it was finally disbanded. Fremont quarreled with Mason, and sent him a challenge which the latter accepted, but General Kearny strictly forbade the duel. Fremont brought his original scouts and survey party to Monterey, and was sent overland with them in June. Stockton also returned East overland and was seen no more in California.

Fremont, on his return, was put under arrest and tried by court martial at Washington. General Kearny charged him on twenty-three heads, with "mutiny, disobedience

and conduct prejudicial to good order and discipline." He was convicted on all and sentenced to dismissal from the service by the court. President Polk approved the sentence but remitted the punishment. It was a peculiar form of meting out justice, but Fremont thought it better not to accept it and remained out of the army. He returned to California to seek his fortune, but not to find it. The glamor thrown around him as Pathfinder caused the cashiered officer, subsequently, to be made a candidate for the Presidency of the United States. At a later time he was convicted in a French court of fraudulent transactions in money matters and sentenced in contumacy.

Fremont's career in California furnishes little foundation for the temporary popularity which he acquired from it after the discovery of gold. His journey to it was not any remarkable feat of exploration and, in fact, was little more than the ordinary duty of an engineer officer. His action in defying the Californian authorities at the Gavi-lan Pass, in time of peace, was a mere puerile bravado. During the ten months which followed his return from Oregon to California his services as a soldier were confined to enlisting a battalion of frontiersmen, many of them criminals, and leading them on military parade through a country destitute of military force to resist their progress. The execution of three unarmed men at San Pedro Point, the threat to execute Pico at San Luis, and the treaty made at Cahuenga Ranch are the only military exploits recorded of the Pathfinder in California, apart from recruiting and marching. The peculiar financial transactions which marked his action as temporary Governor in Los Angeles are his chief claim to distinction as an administrator.

Fremont's part in the conquest seems to have been simply an unscrupulous attempt to make himself the chief gainer by its results. With our knowledge of the secret instructions sent to Consul Larkin before the war by Secretary Buchanan, the fact that Captain Fremont returned

to California and started a raid to overthrow its government, immediately after receiving Gillespie's communication from Larkin, indicates clearly the nature of his plans. Larkin was aware fully of the design of the administration to annex California, and to use any trouble that might occur between the United States and the Mexican Republic over the annexation of Texas as a pretext for the desired seizure. President Polk and his cabinet, however, would prefer to have the Spanish Californians themselves propose the desired annexation and for that were ready to secure them full control of their territory and domestic legislation. Mr. Larkin had seen with what boyish thoughtlessness Governors were made or set aside by the young Californians, and it seems reasonable to suppose that he suggested the possibility of a foreign adventurer, with an armed party at his disposal, installing himself as nominal native ruler before the war of conquest should break out. When it should come it would be easy for the usurper to get himself recognized by the United States, and the farce of revolution to which the Spanish Californians had grown accustomed would end in a practical dictatorship, supported by the arms of the United States for the benefit of the individual who had secured it under another name, even for a few weeks.

Fremont's movements, after meeting Gillespie, were certainly pointed to such an end. His reappearance in California was immediately followed by the raid on Sonoma, and the horses stolen from the Californian government were transferred directly to Fremont's camp. The audacious manifesto of Ide, an illiterate stranger scarcely six months in the country, calling the whole population to come to his camp, of twenty or thirty outlaws, to receive a constitution, and his promise of large land grants to all who would join him, indicate the program. Fremont promptly took charge of its execution, though himself the officer of another country and in its actual service. It would have been as easy for his party of a hundred men

to install a pretender in Monterey in the actual condition of the territory as it had been for Alvarado and Castro. The seizure of that town by Sloat, in time of supposed peace, was the chief obstacle to success at this moment. Had Fremont and his raiders only reached Monterey a few days earlier, there is no reason to doubt but they would have been recognized as the legal government of California by the Commodore. Their powers over the native population would be then defined by themselves. The manner in which a handful of the population possessed themselves of the public lands and permanent dictatorship of the Hawaiian Islands, under pretence of setting up republican institutions, and with the support of American marines, suggests what might easily have been the result of a successful raid in California for Fremont.

He came near attaining it afterwards through the ignorant vanity of Stockton. The arrangement at Cahuenga, by which the Spanish Californians agreed to remain peaceful until the condition of their country should be settled between the United States and Mexico, was used by Stockton to install a Governor and even a legislature of his own nomination as the immovable representative rulers of the territory. Fremont's attempt to hold the commission of a naval officer above the control of his own military superior, and even the positive orders of the President, have already been told.

Kearny's arrival and the recall of Stockton stopped the promising plan of Fremont, when nearly crowned with success. His opposition to that officer sealed his fate, by arraying against him the weight of military discipline and army traditions. The history is a curious one of the various forces, moral and political, at work in the American occupation of California.

General Kearny, as Governor, showed more regard for the rights of the Californians than Stockton or Fremont. His experience at San Pascual, where he was himself wounded by a lance thrust, apparently left no bitterness

in his mind. His sentiments regarding them and the Bear Flag Battalion of Fremont were told in a report sent to Washington on the 15th of March, two weeks after taking the office of Governor:

“The Californians are now quiet and I shall try to keep them so by gentle treatment. Had they received such since our flag was hoisted here last July, I believe there would have been little or no resistance on their part. They have been cruelly and shamefully abused by our own people, by the volunteers raised in this part of the country and on the Sacramento. Had they not resisted they would have been unworthy the name of men.”

General Kearny's tenure of office was less than three months. He declared in his first proclamation that it was the intention of the United States to provide for California a free Government like that of the other American territories, and its people would soon be called on to elect their own representatives and frame what laws they deemed best for their own interest. Meantime the laws actually existing, unless they were found in conflict with the United States Constitution, would be continued until changed by competent authority, and those actually in office would be continued in the same, provided they swore to support that constitution and do their duty faithfully. The General gave evidence of his sincerity by discharging the disorderly recruits of Fremont within six weeks, in spite of the rumors of Californian risings and Mexican invasions which they continued to proclaim. Stevenson's New York regiment landed at nearly the same time, and Kearny felt no hesitation in turning the governorship over to Colonel Mason, and starting for Fort Leavenworth at the end of May. He took Fremont and his party along and Stockton followed a month later. Colonel Mason remained undisputed Governor of California.

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, in the beginning of 1848, confirmed the possession of California to the United States and ended its history as a Spanish community. The

Spanish Californians might have continued the largest part of the population, like the French in Louisiana, had not the discovery of gold in the Sacramento brought an



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overwhelming flood of population from every land to fill up the country. In that flood they were soon submerged and have but little trace in its composition. The missions of the old Franciscans are their chief monument in history.



## CHAPTER XXIX

### THE INDIANS AFTER THE CONQUEST

The lot of the native races, Christian or savage, showed little improvement under American rule as compared with Mexican. When Sloat raised the flag at Monterey, the Christian Indians still formed nearly half the settled population of California. About three thousand, according to the reports made in 1843 and 1844, resided on the lands of the old establishments, and about as many more were employed as vaqueros or servants by the white population. Many had gone to seek homes east of the Coast Range after the first secularization of Figueroa. Sutter, in 1847, reckoned five hundred mission Indians in the Sacramento Valley alone, and the Tulare and San Joaquin districts had also received large contingents. As the Spanish Californians, at the American invasion, numbered only between seven and eight thousand, according to Bancroft's calculation, the mission Indians must have been equal in numbers to the white population.

They had, further, full rights of citizens under the Mexican laws. The latter also guaranteed each Indian community the common ownership of the lands attached to its mission, and as late as November, 1845, a few months before Fremont's arrival, the President, by order of Congress, expressly forbade Pico's attempt to alienate these lands from the native owners. In virtue of that measure, and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, by which the United States Government pledged its faith to protect all Californians in their property according to existing laws, the Supreme Court, fifteen years afterwards, declared sales of mission lands by Pico invalid in several cases. Among those were San Luis Rey, Santa Inez, San Buenaventura, and San Rafael. Each had a number of

Indian residents entitled to possession, but neither courts, Congress or administration took any steps to enforce restitution to them of the lands. The latter were quietly appropriated by squatters, who had not even an invalid title, but found no difficulty in holding possession by force and chicane.

A few Indians of pure race owned ranchos of their own under the last Mexican Governors. One, Dominguez, was a member of the first Californian legislature, and another, Camillo, the friend of Vallejo, had a tract in cultivation near Petaluma. These were not disturbed, but the peaceful mission cultivators were handed over as serfs, with the lands they tilled, to foreign adventurers by Stockton and Fremont. The former installed Bidwell, of Chico, as administrator of San Luis Rey, the latter gave other members of his Bear Flag Battalion possession of San Gabriel ✓ and other missions. At San Diego, Colonel Stevenson, in a report recommended the issuance of rations to the helpless old natives, who still clung to their abodes, after the plunder of their property, but the American Governor had no time to attend to the wants or rights of such classes. At San Luis Rey, San Antonio, and a few other places, the natives trained by Father Peyri continued to plant and reap for some time after the American conquest, but they were quickly driven from the fertile parts of their territory. A small body of about two hundred retired to a distant locality known as Agua Caliente and tried to keep up a village community there. Mr. Warner, an American newcomer, seized this land even before the raising of the flag at Monterey. After the departure of Governor Kearny the question of his ownership was raised, as the natives threatened resistance if disturbed in their homes. Captain Johnson, afterwards slain in the skirmish at San Pascual, had visited the ranch claimed by Warner in 1846, and described its population as held in serfdom and "stimulated to work by three dollars a month and repeated floggings." Colonel Emory visited the place shortly

afterwards and was told a peculiar tale by the natives thus grudged a small corner of the land that had been always theirs. They said they had been happy and comfortable under the charge of the mission, but since the good priests had been removed they had been always ill treated.

Governor Mason, when matters threatened an outbreak, contented himself with directing Captain Hunter, a Mormon volunteer who had been named mission agent, "to use conciliatory measures, to prevent a rising, and leave the question of ownership to be settled by the American courts, whenever they would be established." The conciliation employed by Captain Hunter was confined to a promise that they should not be driven from their houses, but with no guarantee that they should not be stimulated to work by flogging.

The American courts were duly established in time, but brought no further benefit to the natives on the mission property now called Warner's Ranch. A determined resistance to the owner's methods of enforcing duty work, five years later, called attention of the Federal authorities. General Heintzelman, as military representative, executed four natives, and then Dr. Wozencraft as Federal Commissioner, made a treaty with the remainder by which the squatter owner, Mr. Warner, agreed to allow the two hundred a thousand acres of the large ranch as their share of it. He subsequently recalled this concession, and decisions of American courts declared its invalidity. The eviction of this Indian community from its ancestral lands was carried out in 1903, with most of the features of an Irish eviction. The circumstances of the original seizure of the lands by a foreign adventurer were also very like the measures by which modern Irish landlordism was established under Elizabeth and James the First. Those monarchs granted the tribal territory of Celtic clans, as private estates, to English or Scotch adventurers, on the pretext that the native chieftians were hostile to English

rule. By Celtic law, the lands were the common property of the clansmen, as by Mexican law the Indian converts were joint owners of the mission reservations. In Ireland, the English courts, after the transfer of the chieftain's titles by the administration, quietly declared the cultivator's rights non-existent under English laws. The analogy between Fremont's appointments of mission agents, and Elizabeth's of "undertakers to plant civility among the Irish," coupled with the disappearance, under legal decisions, of all property rights of natives both in Ireland and California, is very striking. It hardly shows any marked ethical development of administration or equity in the past three centuries in English speaking lands.

The case of the Agua Caliente Indians has been fortunately brought to public notice by a Congressional investigation within the last few years. Congress was so impressed by it that it voted an appropriation to provide the plundered natives with lands elsewhere. The case was not an exceptional one, but it had the exceptional fortune of attracting public attention. It has been taken for granted by most writers on the California mission Indians that their disappearance from sight was due to the inadequacy of the training given them by their old teachers. Tut-hill, writing the History of California in 1865, voiced the prevalent opinion in a statement equally inaccurate and brutal, which has since been often repeated by thoughtless copiers: "After the spell of the Fathers was dissolved, many of the tame Indians relapsed into heathenism, carrying with them a more positive laziness than their ancestors possessed, and a surer instinct for thieving." It is hard to characterize fittingly the dirty meanness of language like this. Pico had tried to rob the natives of their lands but it was left to an American writer to seek to rob the victims of reputation also.

A living writer, Mr. Lummis, who has been employed as commissioner to select a home for the evicted Indians,

gives a different view of the ill-starred race. He visited nearly all the settlements of the descendants of the mission Indians in the course of his work. Of the gatherings of the community at Mesa Grande, another reservation, he stated: "I have never seen a more respectable gathering or a better mannered one. I never saw an American court so good tempered. The whole thing was a wonderful reminder of the old New England town meeting, as I well remember it. The good faith, the sincerity, the personal responsibility of these handicapped people, are like the best traditions of New England, and the absolute gentleness and good spirit were like nothing I ever saw in New England."

The teacher of lace making at the same place gave further testimony to the native character: "I do not think it possible for any one to work with the Californian Indians without becoming fond of them. They are so docile, gentle, cheerful, courteous and patient. They learn lace making very quickly. Nature seems to have given them a talent for artistic work." We call Indians dirty, lazy and good for nothing, when as a matter of fact they, as an almost general rule, are deserving, industrious, forbearing, pliable to just and friendly treatment, which is the only sort to which any of us are amenable."

A singularly pathetic answer given to Lummis by the chief of the Agua Caliente tribe, when asked to remove his people from their homes, recalls the parting of a Highland clan from its mountains: "We have always been here. We do not care for any other place. It may be good, but it is not ours. We have always lived here. We would rather die here. Our fathers did. We cannot leave them. Our children were born here. How can we go away? There is no other place for us. If you will not buy us this place, we will go into the mountains like quail and die there, the old people and the women and the children. Let the government be glad and proud. It can kill

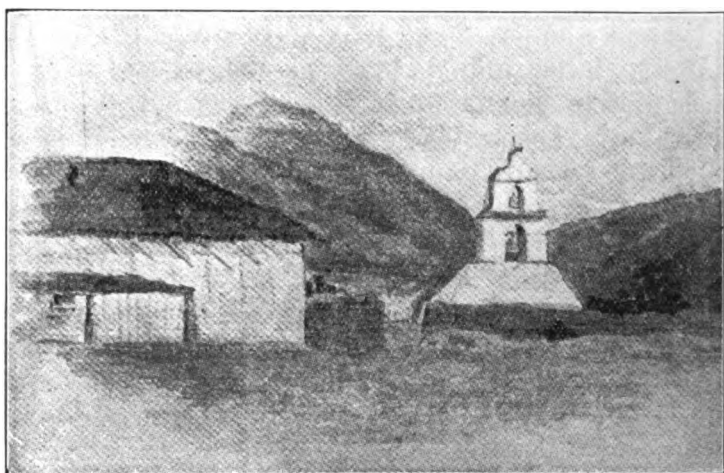
us. We do not fight. We do what it says. If we cannot live here we want to go into those mountains and die."

The case of the Warner's Ranch Indians appears to be a typical one. Mr. Lummis, in his magazine, "Land of Sunshine," for April, 1902, gives an accurate account of the descendants of the mission Indians still existing in the southern counties. They number nearly three thousand, about the same as they were reckoned to be by Alvarado and Pico in 1845. At Pala, the old foundation of Father Peyri, there were fifty-three, at Mesa Grande, two hundred. The first body had been generously granted a quarter section, a hundred and sixty acres, of their former domain, the latter only a hundred and twenty. For the whole Indian population of three thousand persons the Federal Government has reserved about a hundred and fifty thousand acres in different places. Mr. Lummis, who has examined them as a Government Commissioner, gives the official figures. Nearly one-third of the whole is included in the Tule River Reservation, several hundred miles from Los Angeles. Fourteen of the other reservations are less than a thousand acres. In six places lands have been allotted in severalty to the natives. The amount to each family at Pala was ten acres, at Sycuan, sixteen, at Rincon, fifty, mostly sand, and at Temecula, forty, without water and worthless.

Mr. Lummis further adds his judgment of the quality of that part of their inheritance that has been secured to the natives by the action of American law and administration: "The former owners have been dispossessed of their fertile lands, sometimes under color of law, sometimes at the end of a shotgun, and driven back on the edge of the desert. It has become a standing jest with all familiar with the facts on seeing an absolutely worthless peak of dry rocks to remark: 'That must be an Indian reservation.' Almost nothing that a white man would take as a gift has been left to these original Americans." He adds: "If there is in human history any more pitiful

chapter of oppression and cowardly wrong than the record of the steps by which the mission Indians, who once owned Southern California, have been crowded into the waste places, a student of twenty years' study has failed to find it, and hopes never to find it. In all the Spanish occupation of California I could not discover that it ever happened that an Indian was driven off his land. Under our regime it has seldom happened that he escaped being so driven off."

The facts just stated are a strange comment on the proc-



THE ASISTENCIA AT PALA

lamation with which General Kearny, in 1847, announced the policy of his Government towards the existing population of California: "The undersigned hereby absolves all the inhabitants of California from their allegiance to Mexico, and will consider them as citizens of the United States. Those who remain quiet and peaceable will be respected in their rights and protected in them." As far as protecting the peaceable natives against oppression, it must be acknowledged there has been less efficiency shown by the United States authorities than by the Spanish, during their rule in America.

It is also worthy of note that the actual numbers of descendants of the mission Indians still living in the southern counties have not decreased since the final confiscation of their lands by Pico. The number now on reservations is somewhat larger than that reported on the mission lands by Hartnell and Father Duran. Compared with the fate of the uncivilized native population under American rule, that of the surviving ex-mission Indians indicates that the training of the Franciscans had a permanent efficiency on their customs, long after their teachers had passed away. They are certainly not skilled in war, nor have they a knowledge of the constitution that would enable them to plead their case before American courts, but the moral and industrial lessons of Peyri and Duran have left them widely different from the naked savages who butchered Jayme at San Diego. Mr. Lummis, after long experience, declares that if these Indians were given barely half the quantity of passable land that would maintain a hard working New England farmer, they would easily maintain themselves.

The kind of protection given them by the military Governor who succeeded General Kearny, is best illustrated by Mason's order of September, 1847, issued after peace had been definitely established. Complaints were made by American settlers near San Jose of the prevalence of horse stealing. The Governor sent a company of soldiers and thirty-five volunteers, to guard the mountain passes to the east of the town. They were ordered to shoot without trial all Indians found stealing. "Any Indians found loitering were to be dealt with by the alcalde of San Jose," an American appointed by the Governor. The order further gave the conditions on which Indians of any class, settled or savage, were to be protected as American citizens: "Indian laborers were to be furnished with passports and if they could not show them were to be treated as robbers," *ladrones*. They were simply to be shot without trial, on the color of their skins. The right of an In-



dian to existence was limited, in Governor Mason's idea, to those furnished with written permission of an American official.

The first legislature of the new American State of California showed scarcely more consideration for native rights. One of its acts was to declare the testimony of Indians inadmissible in courts of justice, in any case where white men were concerned. Another undertook to regulate the rights of mission Indians, and is thus epitomized by Tuthill, who cannot be suspected of undue partiality to the race: "It had no trace of an admission of their title to the land. Their villages must not be disturbed, but their rights were only those of a tenant. Minor Indians, with the consent of their parents, might be adopted by the whites. If the Indians were abused, they could complain to a justice of the peace, but no white person could be convicted on their testimony. The justice must tell them what the law was, and, if they violated it, *must punish their head men* by reprimand, fine, or *reasonable chastisement*. For stealing, the fine was two hundred dollars, or twenty-five lashes, laid on without cruelty. Able-bodied Indians found begging, *strolling or loitering* about places where liquor was to be sold, could be hired out, to the highest bidder for four months. To sell them liquor was punished with five days' imprisonment, or a fine of twenty dollars. The money paid as fines by Indians, and the wages earned while hired out on account of vagrancy, were to go to a mythical Indian fund of the town. The compiled statutes of the first three years of California legislation, studiously spelled the word Indian with a little i."

The close resemblance between the statute, punishing "begging, strolling or loitering," on the part of an Indian, by work for anyone willing to use him as a slave, seems to have been copied from the English acts of Parliament for the suppression of pauperism, after the confiscation of the monasteries by Henry Tudor. In the lat-

ter, white men if "strong of body and idle," might be taken as involuntary servants for a year by any householder. The term was extended to life slavery for any pronounced a vagrant three times, and was accompanied by boring the ear with a hot iron. The latter two barbarous additions were not applied to Indians by the California legislature.

The native population that had never been brought under Christian influences was very large in California at the American conquest. Captain Sutter, when named as agent, took a census of those in the Sacramento Valley alone, in 1847, and reported over twenty-one thousand there. Vallejo, who was made agent in Sonoma at the same time, and had been many years familiar with the tribes north of the Bay, thought the numbers in what are now Sonoma, Marin and Lake Counties, much greater than those of the Sacramento Valley. Taking in the northern Indians, and those of the San Joaquin and Tulare Valleys, a hundred thousand seems a very conservative estimate of the whole native population at the American conquest. It was at least five times the number found by Crespi along the Santa Barbara Channel on the first coming of the Spaniards. Colonel Henley, in 1856, estimated the number then existing at sixty-one thousand, six hundred. The census of 1900 showed a total Indian population, including the old mission converts, of little over fifteen thousand. Four-fifths of the native population has gone out of existence in fifty years, though California by no means suffers from overpopulation at the present time.

The destruction of the native races cannot be charged to the general policy of the United States Government. From its first establishment it has always acknowledged the natural rights of the Indians through all its territory, and has spent enormous sums in efforts to promote their civilization. In California, in 1854, Congress appropriated a quarter of a million dollars for Indian reservations. Ac-

according to the intentions of Congress these were to be modelled on the former Spanish missions, without the religious element of the latter. They were allotted a sufficient quantity of public land for cultivation by the natives, and supplied with agents to instruct them in farming and trades. The Tejon Reservation in Los Angeles County, was the first founded. Nome Lackee, in Tehama, and Klamath and Mendocino in the counties of those names, followed. Each received twenty-five thousand acres. Fresno, King's River, and Nome Cult Reservations followed with smaller allotments. The money grants compared very favorably with the thousand dollars with bells and church furniture, which had been given by the Spanish treasury for each Californian mission. The results of the larger expenditure, in a material point, were singularly little. It is doubtful if all the reservations together have ever given the product of a single Franciscan Mission. The fact suggests the little importance of money alone as an agent for the social elevation of savages.

There were other causes at work, after the American occupation, which tended to destroy the native races. Under the Spanish rule neither the authorities nor the white population had many collisions with the wild Indians. The outbreak at San Diego, in which Father Jayme lost his life, the massacre on the Colorado, and the fights at Suisun and San Buenaventura, were almost the only hostilities in California, from the time of Portola to the close of the administration of Solis. Borica and Arrillaga habitually made treaties and sent gifts to the chiefs of the savages, and injuries done them were treated as offenses against the general laws, and punished as if committed on Spaniards. Under the Mexican Governors there was somewhat more Indian warfare. Echeandia's administration was marked by a fierce contest with the Mohaves, and Arguello's, by the cruelly punished rising at Santa Inez. Vallejo and other officers carried on short campaigns in the Tulare Valley and near Clear Lake, to

avenge horse stealing raids which the former Governors would have dealt with by negotiation. The secularization of the missions under Figueroa was followed by some hostilities, like the raid of Yoscolo on Santa Clara, and the plot at San Diego between mission Indians and savages against the white population. On the whole, however, the relations between the white and native races in California, at least in that part of it under mission influences, were fairly friendly during the whole Mexican rule.

Captain Sutter, in his colonization of the Sacramento Valley, inaugurated a system of Indian slavery before unknown. He declared particular tribes hostiles, and when members of them were captured, he put them to forced work as slaves. The practice was continued on a larger scale after the change of government. Slavery being then recognized as lawful in the United States, though not in California, the practice found an encouragement which had been denied by the Mexican and Spanish laws. Sutter, himself, with Vallejo and Captain Hunter, of the Mormon battalion, were appointed Indian agents by Governor Mason. Sutter had charge of the Sacramento Valley natives. He was allowed seven hundred and fifty dollars annually and his duties were "to explain the change in government" to the Indians, and to promise rewards for the good, and chastisement for the bad among them, in the name of the Great Father at Washington. He was specially to explain that the chief object of the Great Father was to care for his Indian children.

Three months after Sutter's appointment three settlers, one a Californian, and two Americans, in his jurisdiction went to collect Indians as laborers and captured forty. They killed twelve who offered resistance, and complaint being made by other settlers of the danger of provoking an Indian war, the raiders were arrested and sent for trial to Sonoma. Indian evidence would not be taken by the court there and the three were acquitted and returned to keep their captives to work.

Vallejo, as agent at Sonoma, at the same time reported various outrages by white settlers and asked for protection for the natives by American troops. Colonel Mason thought it impolitic to send soldiers and advised Vallejo instead "to use his influence" with the natives to keep them quiet under provocation. An outbreak near Clear Lake followed and was avenged by bloody reprisals.

The discovery of gold was followed by a rush of mining parties into the territory hitherto exclusively held by the native tribes. The newcomers were under none of the ordinary police restraints of civilized life, and collisions between them and the natives were of constant occurrence. They extended from the Colorado to the northern limits of the State and were extremely destructive of Indian life. The usual practice, in cases where Indians were charged with hostilities, was to raise volunteer companies to exterminate them, or call out the State militia for that purpose. Indian testimony having been excluded from the courts by the first American legislature, charges against them were, of course, accepted as proofs of guilt and punished accordingly.

Tuthill's account of a single one of these Indian wars may, under the circumstances, be taken as an average description of their character and methods. In the spring of 1852, Mr. Denver and other members of the legislature, complained that the Pitt River Indians were in a state of hostility. They alleged that during the past three years a hundred and thirty persons had been killed by them and two hundred and forty thousand dollars' worth of property been destroyed. They demanded, in consequence, protection from the general government.

Governor Bigler transmitted their memorial to the commander of the United States troops on the Pacific Coast, in nearly the same form as Governor Rivera had applied to the Mexican Viceroy, eighty years before, after the murder of Father Jayme. The correspondence which followed seems to explain the decrease of the native population.

General Hitchcock, the commander, in reply to Governor Bigler, stated that he was not aware of any occasion for using troops in California, though isolated robberies and murders were of common occurrence. He had been informed of an alleged slaughter of eight white men on the Coquilla a few months before. On this information he had instantly sent a company which killed several Indians in that district, scattered the rest of the tribe, and destroyed their store of winter food. The General learned after this execution that no murder had been committed and the eight white men were alive in Oregon. He so informed Governor Bigler, and claimed that his action on the Coquilla was sufficient evidence that he was not neglecting his duty.

Mr. McKee, the Indian agent for Northern California at the same time brought another case of Indian hostilities to notice of the Governor. Two settlers had been murdered in Humboldt County in February. Some other settlers assumed the deed had been done by natives, and without further investigation, they formed a party and shot fifteen or twenty of the first they met. The same month the murder of an Indian boy by a settler at Happy Camp on the Klamath was followed by an extraordinary method of frontier civilization. The boy's family charged a white man with the murder. The individual accused collected a party, attacked and burned the Indian village and killed all its male, and several of its female inhabitants. They followed by destroying a second village in the same manner, except that one man escaped and brought news of the occurrence to Mr. McKee, as Indian agent. The latter asked the Governor to take some measures to vindicate the law and punish the white murderers.

Governor Bigler's reply indicates the amount of protection that Indians in California had to expect. He pronounced some of the remarks of McKee "an imputation on the character of American citizens," and frankly

stated his own ideas of duty towards the natives: "As a private intercessor between American citizens and their savage enemies, consanguinity, and the sentiments it inspires, would incline me to favor the cause of my countrymen, and as a public magistrate chosen by American citizens, I cannot yield my approbation to any imputations on their intelligence or patriotism." The first American legislature had stripped the Indians of any appeal to the courts, the Federal commander shot them down on any chance accusation, the Governor of the State declared them savage enemies, and branded, as unpatriotic and un-American, even to raise a voice to save them from extermination. The whole incident recalls the worst circumstances of the early colonization of the West Indies, for which Las Casas so eloquently raised his voice against his Spanish countrymen.

A comparison between the language of Governor Bigler and that of the Spanish Viceroy, Bucareli, on the occasion of the Indian outbreak at San Diego and the pardon of the murderers of Father Jayme seems enough explanation of the disappearance of the California Indians in our own time. The case seems fairly summed by an authority which cannot be suspected of want of patriotism, the Committee of the United States Senate on Indian Affairs. In January, 1888, that body closed its report with these words:

"The history of the mission Indians for a century may be written in four words, conversion, civilization, neglect, outrage. The conversion and civilization were the work of the mission Fathers, previous to our acquisition of California, the outrage and neglect mainly our own.

## CHAPTER XXX

### THE FRANCISCANS IN AMERICAN CALIFORNIA

Only eight Franciscans remained in California when the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed. There were only two of Spanish birth, Oliva and Estenega, and both died before the close of 1850. Two members of the San Fernando College, the brothers Jimeno, were charged with the seminary at Santa Inez. Father Rubio was diocesan administrator from the death of Bishop Moreno, and the other Zacatecas friars were the only clergy for parochial duties among the whole population.

A new Bishop was appointed in 1850, in the person of the Rev. Jose Sadoc Alemany, a Spanish Dominican, long resident in the United States. On his arrival he requested Father Rubio to act as his Vicar General, and the latter filled that office for nine years. The seminary had scarcely any students, and was closed the year that the new Bishop arrived. The Franciscan missionaries retired to Santa Barbara and were given charge of its population and the mission buildings. They were only three. Father Jose Jimeno had been assistant to Peyri at San Luis Rey before the first secularization, having come to California with his brother in 1826. Father Sanchez had been in charge of San Buenaventura when Micheltorena restored it to the Franciscans in 1842. He was a native of Leon, in Mexico, and the last survivor of the Zacatecas missionaries at his death in 1884.

The discovery of gold had brought a hundred thousand immigrants of all nationalities to California within the first two years of American occupation, and Bishop Alemany had to recruit a secular clergy to provide for their religious wants. A very large proportion of the new comers were Catholics, Irish, French and Americans, from



both the Union and the various Spanish republics. A new clergy of the same nationalities was formed for the new conditions. The Spanish Californians in consequence became suddenly a subordinate part of the Catholic population. The Franciscans, as members of the Mexican Missionary Colleges, had no regular community of their own in California. By arrangement of the Superiors of the Order, they were formed into a Hospice in 1853, with Jose Jimeno as President. In Franciscan discipline a Hospice is similar in organization to a college, which it was hoped might be established at a later date, if sufficient recruits offered themselves for its membership in California.

The community at its organization only numbered three priests, but five novices came to join it from Mexico within a year. Three were intended for the priesthood and two lay brothers, the first to arrive in California. The Guardian of the historic College of San Fernando and Bishop Alemany both took part in the foundation of the Hospice. It was not located in the mission but in a small house erected by Father Jimeno in the town of Santa Barbara. On the division of California into three dioceses, however, the new Bishop, Amat, ceded the mission buildings and orchards to the community, which then removed to their occupation.

The growth of the community was slow at first. Father Rubio resigned the office of Vicar General to become its President in 1859, and during an administration of twelve years he increased its numbers by seven priests. Three were of Spanish and four of Irish race, the latter being all ordained in 1868. For many years afterwards, however, no new accessions were received, and finally, in 1884, the Guardian asked that the Santa Barbara Hospice should be joined, as an ordinary convent, to the Franciscan Province of Missouri. The incorporation was sanctioned by the Propaganda and Leo XIII. the following year, and the last Californian community was merged in another

branch of the Franciscan organization. Father Sanchez, the last of the old mission administrators, passed away just as this occurred.

The change was made in 1885, and was followed by a new Spring for the Franciscan Order in California. Two years later, the orphan asylum at Pajaro was placed in its charge as well as the German parish long existing in San Francisco. The next year the Guardian of Santa Barbara, Father Bergmeyer, was elected Provincial, and a Franciscan Indian mission begun in Lake County, under the name of St. Turibius. A convent, with charge of a parish, was erected in Los Angeles in 1891, and another at Fruitvale, near Oakland. A second in San Francisco and one in Sacramento soon followed, both chiefly for German Catholics. In 1893 the old mission of Father Peyri was restored to the Order, as a gift to the Franciscans of Mexico, who opened a novitiate there to supply priests for their native land. It is a strange revolution of affairs that an old Californian mission should now play a like part to Mexico that the San Fernando and Zacatecas Colleges once did to California.

The story of St. Turibius, the latest Indian mission of California, is told by Engelhardt in his book "The Franciscans in California." It was begun in 1870 by a solitary priest, Luciano Ossuna. His work had the approval of the Bishop of Grass Valley, but further it is not known even to what religious Order he belonged, though his habit and sandals indicated membership among the Franciscans. Father Luciano followed the methods of Serra and Peyri, as far as an individual worker might. He purchased a quarter section of wild land near Clear Lake as a site for a church dwelling and Indian cottages, and then went round the scattered rancherias, teaching such as would hear him, and bringing as many as possible to settle near his little church. His field of work extended through the whole of Lake and Mendocino Counties, and for nine years he continued his solitary labors among the Indians

there. In spite of his want of material resources to help them as the old missionaries had, Father Luciano baptized and instructed over five hundred natives in that time. A curious circumstance, told by Father Engelhardt in his history, indicates the ignorance of the new American settlers of the old missions of California, a quarter of a century after their occupation of Mendocino County. The strange priest's attention to the squalid natives and his religious dress were taken by many as evidences of insanity. He was actually arrested on that charge and brought before a judge for committal to the insane asylum. An American lawyer undertook his defence, and made it on the singular grounds that in the distant past of Europe a body of monks, known as Benedictines, had existed, and were wont to use a dress like Father Luciano's as a part of their rule of life. He drew the sage conclusion that wearing a religious habit and sandals could not be held proof of lunacy. The legal Solomon on the bench was somewhat puzzled by the statement. He finally asked the accused if he were really crazy, and Father Luciano assured him it was for the questioner to decide. He was not further troubled.

Two Franciscans from Santa Barbara came, after nine years, to relieve the solitary Indian missionary. His mission, however, changed guardians more than once before it was formally assumed by the Franciscan body in 1887. Two different congregations took charge of it in the meanwhile, and the Dominican, Father William Dempfin, was singularly active as an Indian instructor, not only in Lake County, but among all the tribes as far south as the Apaches. When the Franciscans took charge of the mission, in 1887, they found a settlement of about a hundred natives on the lands acquired by Father Luciano, with a small church, residence and school. The conditions recalled those of the early foundations of Serra a century before. There had been thirteen hundred baptisms and two hundred marriages of Indians recorded in the

twenty-seven years since Father Luciano began his work. As the extent of land at St. Turibius Mission was not enough to support all the converts, there were five other visiting stations in Lake County, with a population of about three hundred in all. There were four other "asistencias" in Mendocino, which have since been separated from the care of the St. Turibius Community.

So rapid was the growth of the Franciscan body in California, after the incorporation with Missouri, that in eleven years the Superiors thought it well to form its Communities into a distinct province or Custody. The step was taken in 1897, and the new Custody then reckoned nine convents, with twenty-seven priests and thirty lay brothers. The Community at San Luis Rey still remains attached to the Mexican Franciscan Province, a last link of the olden time. It had seven priests and ten scholastics and brothers. The membership of the Order in modern California is thus now larger than in the most flourishing period of the old missions. It is a striking instance of the vitality of Catholic Religious Orders amid social and political changes of conditions.

It is of interest to note that the first Bishop of California under American rule, afterwards first Archbishop of San Francisco, was taken from the Spanish friars. Bishop Alemany was selected directly by Pius IX., and against his own protests. His career during the following thirty-three years as Bishop and Archbishop was marked by an energy and disinterestedness equal to that of Serra or any of the other old-time missionaries. He was a native of the same province as Narcisco Duran, and resembled him much in his fearless devotion to duty regardless of consequences to himself. The comparison drawn by General Vallejo between Archbishop Alemany and the Franciscan Father, Amoros, has been already mentioned. It was made fifty years after the death of the latter. Seventeen years afterwards Archbishop Alemany resigned his see, without making any provision for his fu-

ture maintenance, and returned to his old Dominican Order. A sum of fifteen thousand dollars, offered as a free gift by his flock, was the only revenue he ever received personally during his thirty-three years' episcopate. The line of church superiors drawn from the friars of Spain in California fittingly closed with Joseph Sadoc Alemany. It is in every respect a remarkable list of zeal, efficiency and unselfish devotion. Serra, Lasuen, Tapis, Senan, Payeras, Sarria, Duran, Rubio and Alemany form a series literally without fear or reproach.

The Order, expelled from Lower California by the despotic action of Charles III., has reappeared in American California. Jesuit missionaries had been at work among the Flatheads and Cœur d'Alenes from 1834, and some of their number came to California with the rush of gold-seeking immigrants. Fathers Nobili and Accolti were the first to come from the Rocky Mountains, in 1850. The next year, Bishop Alemany ceded the mission buildings of Santa Clara to the Jesuit Order, and Father Nobili began a college there for higher instruction. The parochial charge of San Jose was also entrusted to the same body. A little afterwards, on the arrival of other priests, a second college was founded in San Francisco, under the name of St. Ignatius. The settlement of Upper California and the conversion of its people had been projected by Salvatierra and Kuehn in the seventeenth century. A century and a half later members of their Order came to settle in the land, after it had been for a time almost extinguished by the hostility of the Spanish Government, under protection of which the Jesuit settlement was originally planned, and which itself had ceased in America.

The legislation of the Kingdom of Sardinia against Religious Orders caused a number of Jesuits from Turin to change their abodes to California, after the founding of Santa Clara College. The society has since grown by accessions from the cosmopolitan population of modern California. At the present time the number of its mem-

bers in California is over one hundred and fifty, of whom nearly sixty are priests. Father Kuehn was the only member of the society who is known to have entered the present State of California before. Seventeen priests was the largest number employed in the missions of Lower California.



SANTA CLARA MISSION CHURCH RESTORED

Three of the old missions are thus now occupied, as far as their buildings, by communities like their pioneer founders. The churches in several others are still used for Catholic worship, under charge of the parochial clergy. In all the secularization measures of the Californian Governors, the churches and residences had been expressly reserved for public worship and their ownership vested in the Catholic diocese. Bishop Alemany found no difficulty in obtaining possession of the few which had been occupied by squatters during the confusion of the American invasion. The material value indeed was trifling in every case, and there was no serious

opposition to his title. In San Gabriel, San Buenaventura, Santa Inez, San Miguel, San Luis Obispo and San Juan Bautista, the mission churches are still in daily use, though more or less altered by repairs and additions of the last sixty years. In Carmel, the burying place of Fathers Serra, Crespi and Lasuen, and Dolores, the origin of San Francisco, the churches are preserved, but only rarely used for worship. In San Rafael and Santa Cruz the mission buildings have disappeared. Soledad and La Purissima exist only as ruins and deserted. At San Fernando and San Juan Capistrano, though the churches are in ruin, some of the adjoining mission buildings are still occupied. At Sonoma the church and part of the old buildings are used, but as storehouses only. San Diego only preserves a few ruins of its old greatness, but an Indian boarding school on the mission grounds maintains its old traditions. Mission San Jose has a new church on the site of the mission building. There is also a chapel used for service at Pala, the dependent mission of San Luis Rey. Such are the material memorials that still exist of the old Franciscans' work in modern California.

# INDEX

## ABBREVIATIONS.

Am., American.; Cal., Californian;  
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